

IN THESE TIMES

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Can a 7-foot socialist vegetarian make it in the big leagues?



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THE INSIDE STORY

ALAN WOLFE

Carter energy plan: producers play consumers pay

Commentators have already begun to pronounce President Carter's April 18 message to the American people on energy—and his subsequent legislative proposals—as significant and far reaching. In a limited sense they are. Considering the refusals of politicians from all over the political spectrum to take what must inevitably be unpopular positions on the way Americans use energy, Carter's speech is rare. But from another perspective these proposals fail to approach anywhere near the roots of the problem.

Energy can be discussed, when all is said and done, in two ways: at the point of production or at the point of consumption. With one exception (the well head gas tax) all of Carter's ideas deal with consumption. The structure by which energy is produced in this country is not touched. But that structure is most clearly responsible for our present situation.

By failing to raise questions of production Carter also fails to live up to his own country's political history. The fact is that during the 1920s and 1930s America's political institutions—local, state and federal—debated and in many cases implemented a variety of plans that did address energy production. Those plans were much more far reaching and significant than anything in Carter's speech.

Nothing in his proposals acknowledges that those policy debates even took place, let alone uses their findings. The shame is that we have so much to learn from ourselves, but there seem to be so few teachers around.

►Energy was key to popular alliance.

Energy policy was the lynch pin of a populist and reformist alliance that brought together Democrats from the East and South and insurgent Republicans from the Midwest and West. Having led the campaign to expose the Teapot Dome scandal in which oil companies made immense profits at public expense, the coalition was responsible for a national public power movement that culminated in the Muscle Shoals controversy of 1924 and the investigations into electric power oligopoly in 1925.

A consistent and impressive basis of support in favor of public control over energy dominated congressional discussions in the '20s, even while the overall direction of national affairs was toward Republican complacency.

In his 1932 Commonwealth Club speech during the presidential campaign, Franklin Delano Roosevelt denounced the "Ishmaels and Insults" of America. Readers of the Bible or *Moby Dick* knew the former; only followers of energy policy debates knew that the latter was the personification of energy company irresponsibility.

The New Deal moved quickly to implement a national power policy that attacked the vested privileges of the energy monopolies. Three significant pieces of legislation were the Wheeler-Rayburn Bill, the creation of the Rural Electrical Administration, and the Bonneville Power Administration Act.

The first bill outlawed holding companies in the energy industry. Over a vigorous propaganda campaign led by big business the New Deal coalition did not break, and the result was a law that struck at the heart of big business's desire to do anything it pleased.

The second law brought rural power to America. Behind the law was sentiment to the effect that a national plan for energy use in the U.S. had to be developed.

The last was a minor blow to public enthusiasts, for it allowed a major role for the Army Corps of Engineers (traditionally very close to big business). Nonetheless, it went further than anything up to that point in recognizing the necessity of public power.

►Energy too important to be left to corporations.

Out of the New Deal came the recognition that energy was too important to be left to corporations. Men like



Jimmy Carter has tried to cast himself in the role of Franklin Roosevelt, but he would have done well to look back at the energy debate that was going on when Roosevelt took office. It was a debate that did not ignore but focused on the structure of energy production.

Leland Olds, Harold Ickes, George Norris, and others simply refused to kow-tow to electric company and oil company pressure. But the New Deal momentum was eventually stopped, with World War II dealing the final blow to that period's public power movement.

Starting in 1938 Roosevelt began to prepare the administrative branch for energy questions under a possible mobilization. Louis Johnson, who would become Secretary of Defense, but who was then a corporation lawyer and commander of the American Legion, directed the effort. Johnson wanted to roll back the New Deal reforms and allow the energy companies almost total freedom in developing resources. The bureaucratic in-fighting was furious.

Harold Ickes tried to make himself what James Schlesinger is about to become—"energy czar"—but

in this case he wanted power in order to be able to confront the energy corporations. He was rebuffed. Roosevelt became more sympathetic to plans closer to Johnson's perspective.

Ickes was furious: "I further cannot agree to a plan which is so designated as to make more difficult the carrying out of the public power program of this administration as embodied in the Holding Company Act, the Rural Electrification Act, the Bonneville Act, and in the statements of the President."

Interestingly enough, once the energy companies had reestablished their control over the policy process, they immediately produced a shortage that severely crippled the war against fascism. But in spite of this self-serving irresponsibility, the war-based governmental support for energy monopolies has never been repealed.

►Monopoly and control.

For 30 years, energy policy in the U.S. has been dominated by two principles. The first is that monopolies control it, anti-trust legislation to the contrary. The corollary of this principle is that we must expect shortages, for monopolies always work to produce them. Any energy policy that does not break up monopoly control—preferably through public ownership but at least through enforced competition—accepts shortages as an artificial way of life.

In this sense Carter's speech—with its overtones of living with less energy—is a frank refusal to combat monopoly power. All of Carter's rhetoric is exactly what energy companies want the American people to believe.

The second operating principle of American energy policy since the War has been that the government will work actively to preserve and protect the energy monopolist's control over markets and production. Carter's speech in no way attacks this principle either. In fact, the net effect of all of his ideas will be to raise energy prices, especially for oil.

Are the oil companies horrified at this idea? They would be if higher prices meant less demand. But people use oil because that use is rooted in the productive structure of contemporary American capitalism. People will not be able to use less if the whole structure is based on their using more. Higher prices will have little effect on demand, in short. For that reason the oil companies can, if they are smart, profit by it.

Ultimately, higher oil prices may result in a shift to other forms of energy, though such a change is by no means automatic. If it does, Carter's message to the oil companies is to invest in other sources, which they have already begun to do.

Carter's proposals, in short, can only make our economy more and more dependent on a monopolistic, short-sighted industry that has consistently shown that it cares not a whit how or where we live.

There is an oil shortage facing America. There may not be an energy shortage, considering that we have the sun. The real problem, however, is how energy is produced, not how much there may or may not be.

But the basis of our experience since the war has been to avoid an energy policy, since any coordinated public policy will have to attack the two basic assumptions of state-monopoly cooperation. Until those assumptions are challenged our economy will suffer from the conditions that those arrangements have brought us to.

Oil and energy companies are multinational as never before. Their concern is with their energy empires, not with how we live.

It is time that we stopped helping them destroy our country. We can rediscover that in our very own past lies a tradition which can do that very thing.

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IN THE NATION

Carter's grab-bag energy plan



By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Last week President Carter unveiled his energy plan to save the country—Europeanize America.

Nearly all of the proposals in Carter's package point in the direction of energy economics currently used in Western Europe and Japan, which

have a standard of living and level of industrial production roughly comparable to that in the U.S. but use one-third to one-half less energy.

There are at least two problems with Carter's innovation in the U.S. energy policy. Europeanization is no solution to the fundamental energy crisis. Those economies like the U.S. depend heavily on non-renewable fuels—coal, oil, gas and uranium.

Carter's program keeps the energy economy on basically the same course. Use a little more coal, save some gas and oil, make buildings more efficient: all these may postpone the day of reckoning. The root problem remains, however: a finite supply of traditional energy resources.

►Higher prices.

The second big problem with Carter's program lies with his means of implementing it through permitting the price of oil and gas to rise. Driving fuel prices higher will fatten the wallets of the energy

corporations, lower the real buying power of the poor and working class, stimulate inflation, possibly contribute to recession and, to cap it all off, probably not succeed in greatly reducing fuel consumption or converting the nation's energy economy.

Carter is right, of course, in attacking energy wastefulness, in raising a sense of urgency about energy supplies, and in making energy matters an issue of publicly debated policy. But he has offered a "jimmy-built" grab-bag program that is heavily compromised to major corporate interests, while making a few gestures of goodwill to lower and middle income consumers, conservationists and environmentalists.

"There's very little good in it," biologist Barry Commoner, author of *The Poverty of Power*, said after Carter's first speech to the nation on April 18. "The speech last night failed to do what it was supposed to—explain what the energy crisis is and why we should be concerned

about it."

Carter's portrayal of urgency was based on CIA figures that by 1984 world demand would exceed world supply.

►Oil company policy, not nature.

The projections of crisis were based on proven reserves and projections of international demand. According to Commoner, proven reserves are probably one-fifth of what's underground. "The difference is whether the problem will develop in 10 years or 50 years. I regard [Carter's projections] as a serious political misrepresentation." Proven reserves in the U.S. have stagnated because the oil companies sharply curtailed exploration from 1957 on as they relied on production of cheap and highly profitable Middle Eastern oil. As Commoner puts it, "Carter is asking us to accept as a fact of nature—the small proven reserves—what is a result of oil company policy."

The immediate energy crisis is not a lack of oil, Commoner says, but a crisis of oil prices skyrocketing, "driving inflation, putting pressure on the poor and making industrial planning difficult. Carter proposes to treat that disease by increasing the price of fuel. That's absurd."

"We have to stabilize prices by going to renewable sources. There are two: nuclear and solar. It will become clear that the only road is solar. In the absence of a sound analysis of the problem, it's very hard to see any of the proposals as being

Highlights of Carter's plan

- Domestic crude oil prices go up to the 1977 world price. Oil from currently producing wells will have the price increase taxed away, but companies will get the increased price on new wells.

- The interstate natural gas price lid will go up from \$1.45 a thousand cubic feet to \$1.75. For the first time, the ceiling will also be applied to intrastate gas sales.

- Gasoline taxes would be increased 5 cents a gallon each year consumption exceeds a government target, up to a maximum of 50 cents a gallon.

- A tax increasing over the years would be applied to new "gas-guzzler" automobiles, with rebates given on the price of efficient cars.

- Electric utilities would be encouraged to burn coal and generally prohibited from burning oil or natural gas whenever possible. Taxes would also be applied to discourage most instances of industrial use of natural gas.

- Conventional nuclear power plants would continue but the breeder reactor would be deferred.

- A nationwide reform of electric utility rates would prohibit promotional prices and institute "peak load" pricing.

- Households and businesses would receive tax credits for installing insulation, using solar energy or taking certain other conservation measures, including "cogeneration" of electricity from waste heat.

- Much of the tax on energy would be rebated to consumers, probably through income tax credits or grants.

advantageous. The whole design is wrong."

"If the problem is that we're relying on non-renewable energy sources," Commoner, who directs the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems, continued, "the policy ought to be designed to shift to renewable energy sources. That's it. That's what we have to do. Conservation would be a useful adjunct, but it has to be carried through to reorganize the whole production system. That's where I would introduce the concept of the social governance of production."

►Energy not public question.

Indeed, one consequence of Carter's approach to the energy crisis is that questions of what is to be produced, for what ends, by what methods and at what costs have been thrust into the public arena. Many businessmen and their ideologues—from the editorialists of the *Wall Street Journal* to economists of the University of Chicago—would like to see such questions slip back into the corporate boardroom. The most popular corporate solution to the energy crisis remains total decontrol and deregulation of prices. The result, by best accounts, would be staggering inflation and even greater accumulation of capital in the hands of corporations that increasingly control all forms of non-renewable energy.

Other corporate leaders with a slightly

(Continued on page 4.)

Grab-bag energy plan

(Continued from page 3.)

Even though Carter's "Europeanization" fits the needs of corporate business today, many businessmen are so conservative that they will undoubtedly fight much of the program. The oil companies will benefit handily from the increased price of all newly discovered oil and from increased coal sales and prices. Nonetheless, many will dream about how much money they might have made with decontrol.

longer vision realize that there never has been a free market in oil. They advocate national planning—largely through taxes and incentives—by the federal government but still in the interest of steady, guaranteed profitability for the oil companies. One executive who advocated such a plan in the February issue of *Fortune* was Thornton Bradshaw, president of Atlantic Richfield and a member of Jimmy Carter's campaign task force on energy.

Carter's "Europeanization" fits Bradshaw's prescription. Most American businessmen are so conservative, however, that they will undoubtedly fight much of the Carter plan. Even though the oil companies will benefit handily from the increased price of natural gas, the greatly raised price of all newly discovered oil and from increased coal sales and prices, many businessmen will dream about how much money they might have made with decontrol.

►No change in power relations.

Carter has not distributed power relationships and continues to rely on the market—together with a combination of pricing and taxing—to distribute resources.

One Senate staffer, who is critical of the Carter plan, observed that with Carter's plan "we're really socializing a lot of costs in order to preserve profits. We're intervening in the market at one level (to push up oil prices) without intervening in the issue of profits. Those benefits and motivations for corporations come essentially from taxing workers."

One preliminary estimate puts the total cost of Carter's package by 1979 at \$43 billion. The Consumer Federation of America made a preliminary guess that the Carter plan would cost the average family \$800 a year in 1979, minus whatever rebates come back.

Since there are very few "average families," the impact will be spread out much differently. A congressional researcher observed, "In general, energy taxes are regressive. The share of energy costs in the family budget is much greater for low-income families. In the past, low-priced energy—low with regard to family income and future costs, not costs of production—has served to offset maldistribution of income in this country. An increase in prices, if it decreases consumption, will decrease it where people will be deprived."

►Poor can't conserve.

Families with incomes under \$6,500 a year spend 15 to 18 percent—and often more—of their income on energy. Families with incomes of \$12-14,000 spend about 5 percent. Low-income people generally use energy, such as gas in their old cars, for essential purposes, such as getting to work. It is hard for them to cut back. Moreover, even if more efficient technologies become available on the market, the poor won't be able to buy them and will have to use older, energy-expensive equipment.

Higher-income families can absorb the increased costs with less of a pinch on their pocket. Affluent households use energy more indulgently, but they will

feel less pressure to conserve.

Carter's conservation program relies heavily on pricing. The major example is the gradually rising gasoline tax. (With the increased price of oil and the full tax of 50 cents a gallon by 1985, gasoline prices would be comparable to those in Europe.) Gasoline sales are not cut much by increasing prices. Recent doubling of the price has barely affected demand. Studies project that a 10 percent increase in price might reduce consumption 1 percent for the first few years and possibly 4 percent within a decade.

The graduated excise tax on gas-guzzlers, most observers conclude, will help shift the market some toward more efficient cars. Even a \$2,500 tax on an 11 m.p.g. luxury car in 1985, however, will not deter the rich, who would buy the car anyway.

The rebate on efficient cars, however, will probably allow the auto companies to price their small cars to increase their profit per car. Typically "small cars mean small profits." However, recently auto companies have adjusted prices to raise the unit profits on compacts. The rebate will make the small car more attractive to consumers, but leave GM's increased unit profits intact.

Despite all of the alarms, one automobile industry observer said last week, "I don't think Carter's plan will hurt the auto industry at all."

If Carter's proposals worked, the American auto market might look much like Europe's. So far he has proposed nothing to produce a European railroad or mass transit system, however. Gar Alperovitz, an economist with the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, called that "a gigantic omission."

►Conservationists generally pleased.

Energy conservationists generally were delighted with some of Carter's proposals: stricter efficiency requirements for appliances, tax credits for solar equipment and insulation in homes, new nationwide utility rates ending promotional pricing and setting higher rates during "peak usage" periods, building standards to achieve some of the 50 percent increase in efficiency easily attainable, and tax credits for businesses that use heat now wasted for "cogeneration" of electricity.

There are some problems, however. Economist Alperovitz cautions that businesses and individuals respond unpredictably to tax credits, and this passive plan may bring minimal results. Also, in one version of the home insulation plan mentioned by Carter, private utilities would unnecessarily reap the profit from the installation.

Carter's proposal to stimulate coal production drew fire from the industry, which wants much looser strip mining regulations. The two-thirds increase in coal production expected by Carter may be foiled by problems and costs of transporting the coal from Western or even Kentucky coal mines to many of the industries and utilities in the Northeast that now rely on oil.

►Worry about nuclear power.

Environmentalists generally were pleased with Carter's insistence on strict clean air, strip mine and auto pollution standards. (Earlier last week he recommended a one-year delay in new auto emissions standards instead of the two years requested by the industry and the UAW.)

They were worried, however, about his stand on nuclear power. Carter proposed speeding up licensing of new nuclear plants. Although he said, to congressional applause, that there is "no need to enter the plutonium age," some anti-nuclear activists fear that continued construction of nuclear power plants will make the breeder reactor appealing in the future. The breeder produces more plutonium than it uses, making new fuels but also deadly wastes and materials for bombs.

Congressional critics will undoubtedly ask why Carter is tying the price of domestic oil and gas to the world price set by OPEC, the oil exporting countries, which is currently \$13.50 a barrel (compared with regulated U.S. prices of \$5.17 a barrel for old oil and \$11 for "new" oil). That simply "cements the cartel price," Thomas Girard of the Energy Action Committee said.

►What about "Lifeline."

It's impossible to judge how well Carter's plan guarantees the "equity" and "fairness" he has repeatedly promised until more details of the rebate plans are spelled out. Although some Carter administration people privately defend the new system as a tax reform, most observers worry that those who can't pay will get hit hardest.

Several critics suggested that Carter could have proposed "lifeline" legislation, modeled on the current utility rate reforms in some states, that would have guaranteed some basic amount of electricity, gasoline, fuel oil, natural gas and other energy supplies to households at low prices. "Lifeline" wasn't even included in the utility rate proposal.

Also, there were no guarantees of jobs or income for workers who lose their jobs because of energy-related changes in the economy. If the plan speeds up inflation, Alperovitz fears that the administration may be even more reluctant to undertake projects that would reduce unemployment.

Faced with rising oil imports, declining balance of trade, continued inflation, an unpredictable climate for business, and foreign policy jitters about reliance on overseas oil, Carter was pressed to develop an energy program. By making the U.S. more like the other leading capitalist countries, he may cut American production costs despite the oil price increase, especially if the burden is shouldered by poor working class and middle class households rather than the major corporations. It is unlikely, however, that Carter's compromise jumble of proposals will make it through Congress looking much like it started.

And if it did, it is unlikely that it would be an answer to the energy crisis.

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IN THESE TIMES

CRIME&PUNISHMENT

Back at beginning in execution fight

By Bob McMahon

At a time when states around the nation were rewiring their electric chairs and dusting off their other implements of execution, death penalty foes gathered Easter weekend in Atlanta for a "Witness Against Execution."

Some 3,000 strong, the demonstrators set off for the state capitol from the Ebenezer Baptist Church and the grave of Martin Luther King Jr.

At the head of the march four men in clerical robes carried a mock electric chair. Behind them a line of marchers, many from church groups, stretched two abreast for blocks, bearing signs with the names of death row inmates from across the nation. At the tail, spirited, chanting contingents organized by different radical groups spilled across half the street.

Groups had come for the march from as far away as Utah, Minnesota, and Rhode Island. The bulk of the crowd came from around the Southeast. Most were white.

The crowd gathered opposite the capitol building, where the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference welcomed them to Georgia, "the state which has legally executed more people, and illegally lynched more people, than any other."

As speaker followed speaker a picture began to emerge of the new movement that was holding its first national rally. In the bright afternoon sun the marchers listened with quiet determination, and with hope that, as Millard Farmer of the Southern Poverty Law Center suggested, the movement against the death penalty was "turning the corner" that day in Atlanta.

►Born of defeat.

For over a decade, from the mid-'60s on, the center of the battle against capital punishment has been a small band of lawyers, coordinated by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

The Fund's lawyers succeeded in imposing a nine-year halt in executions while they pursued their goal of a Supreme Court ruling that capital punishment was unconstitutional.

They argued that the death penalty was inherently discriminatory against minorities and the poor: 95 percent of those on death row could not afford their own lawyer to defend them; about half of those executed since 1930—including 90 percent of those executed for rape—were black; blacks and other minorities made up 60 percent of current death row populations.

In July 1976 the Supreme Court acted—unfavorably. The Court upheld the death penalty for murder in three states—Georgia, Florida and Texas—where the laws provided separate proceedings to determine guilt and to set sentences, with set aggravating or mitigating criteria to guide whether death should be imposed.

The Court's ruling meant, according to Henry Schwarzschild of the National Coalition Against the Death penalty, "that the effort to abolish the death penalty through legal, constitutional challenges is defeated for at least our generation."

As the likelihood of an unfavorable ruling by the Nixon Court became clear, a new opposition began to emerge, focused less on the courts than on generating public pressure against executions.

Two organizations played important roles in bringing together this new opposition. The American Civil Liberties Union played a key role in creating a National Coalition Against the Death Penalty as an umbrella and resource center for opposition groups. The Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons—through its affiliates in eight states—helped bring together state coalitions against the death penalty across the South. The Atlanta march grew out of the Southern Coalition's initiative.



"We must recognize that they are doing a better job of talking to the fears people have than we are."

Tom Coffin

The South will be the central battleground of the movement against the death penalty. Historically, the Southern states have made most use of executions. Currently, three-fifths of the nation's death row population is in six Southern states.

►A variety of tactics.

The struggle against the death penalty encompasses a variety of tactics:

- community education to win over a portion of that majority which, led by fear of crime, now favors capital punishment as a symbolic deterrent;
- legal assistance to prevent or delay executions and to make the actual imposition of death sentences a rare occurrence;
- pressure for clemency to persuade governors or other public officials to commute death sentences rather than carrying out scheduled executions;
- legislative lobbying to block or restrict the scope of new death penalty legislation modeled on the Supreme Court guidelines.

A number of activists have also begun considering the possibility of forms of direct action or civil disobedience to protest executions.

All of these activities are carried forward in the face of an unfavorable public climate. Opinion polls on the death penalty have reversed dramatically in the last decade, from a majority favoring abolition early in the '60s, to some 75 to 80 percent wanting to retain capital punishment today. Death penalty legislation is being considered in every state this year, including a number that never had capital punishment or abolished it decades ago.

"What we are dealing with is a pervasive climate of fear," Gene Guerrero of the Georgia ACLU told a workshop audience after the rally; one created "by the people who run this society to help them regain control after the movements of the '60s."

"We must recognize," Guerrero continued, "that they are doing a better job of talking to the fears people have than we are...."

"For certain categories of people, we thought this issue was settled ten years ago—among your standard liberals, among blacks, among left or movement people...but we are finding support for the death penalty among all of these because no one has been talking to them and the fear of crime has been having an impact."

►Internal tensions.

In the face of this hostile public opinion, the movement against the death penalty must also deal with strong internal tensions.

In a number of states there have been difficulties building effective black participation in state coalitions dominated by liberal whites, difficulties reflected in exaggerated form by the largely white make-up of the Atlanta march.

Many of those united by their opposition also find little else to agree on. A large number of the participants in the Atlanta march came out of religious or pacifist oppositions, expressed in such sentiments as "Thou shalt not kill," or "We deny the state has the right to commit murder."

For a good number of others, the death penalty is an outrageous symbol, part of the broader question of the oppression of minorities within the criminal justice, political and economic system.

The existence of such differences—and of many people in the middle who lean in both directions—leads to a pressure to keep coalitions united around the one point of opposition to capital punishment.

At the same time, this pressure to unity is frustrating to many who see linkages to broader issues as essential to countering the climate of fear that underlies acceptance of the death penalty.

►Needed: a solution to crime.

One workshop participant summed up this frustration. "The state says they have the answer to crime, they say, 'burn people.' We have to deal with the issue of crime in a creative, forceful way."

"We keep saying we don't have solutions," she continued, "but many of us do feel we have a solution to crime but have been afraid to mention it. We never demand jobs, or better schools, or decent housing—we think it sounds too singular to talk about economic structures."

The 20th century struggle to abolish capital punishment emerged from the struggle to block the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. For much of the following decades it remained the concern of a small, morally-motivated handful, with no obvious mass constituency.

In the '60s, with executions actually carried out reduced to a handful each year, the drive to attack the death penalty constitutionally was launched. Success for abolition seemed in sight after decades.

In the wake of the Court decision, however, success seems farther away than ever. Whether the abolition struggle can revitalize itself as a mass movement in the face of the current law-and-order climate will depend on how well it copes with some of the questions its participants discussed in Atlanta.

Bob McMahon lives and writes in North Carolina.

NUCLEAR POWER

Civil disobedience planned for Seabrook nuclear site

Faced with a growing citizens' movement against nuclear power plants, the nuclear industry is in retreat. Some sectors of the "business community" are even hinting that the "social objections" to nuclear power may present a permanent barrier to the unlimited expansion of the industry. This weekend, they may suffer another blow as the anti-nuclear movement follows the example of its European counterparts and adopts tactics of mass, non-violent civil disobedience.

On April 30, anti-nuclear activists from across the country will gather in the coastal town of Seabrook, N.H., to occupy the construction site of a \$2 billion nuclear plant. They hope to hold the site "until construction has ceased and the project is totally and irrevocably cancelled." Groups in at least five other states will rally that day to support the Seabrook action.

Members of the Clamshell Alliance, a coalition of 40 environmental groups formed in 1976 to halt the spread of nuclear plants in New England and reassert the right of citizens to determine the nature of their own communities, are the principal organizers. Seabrook residents voted last year against having the twin 1150-megawatt reactors in their backyard.

"Seabrook has become a symbol for groups struggling against nuclear power in other states," says Kristie Conrad of

the Alliance. "Lots of people are waiting to see if a mass occupation can prove effective in the United States as it has in other nations."

In West Germany, occupations of proposed nuclear plant sites increased public pressure and contributed to the recent national moratorium on plant construction. Other mass protests have influenced elections and slowed nuclear projects in Sweden, France and Italy.

The Seabrook project has been plagued by financial and regulatory difficulties for years. Public Service Co., the state utility that owns 50 percent of the project, is reportedly having trouble financing new bank loans. Other investors have delayed further funding because of construction uncertainties.

On March 31, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) lifted the plant's construction permit pending a decision on the cooling system by the Environmental Protection Agency.

While the occupation may fail to permanently halt construction plans, observers believe that the national publicity will further damage an industry already weakened by high uranium prices, soaring construction costs, negative press coverage, safety hazards, the leakage of nuclear wastes and a host of other problems.

—Dan Marshall

WOMEN

Some advances expected in Congress

A recent survey of women's rights activists revealed that they expect few major legislative gains during the 95th Congress, but they do expect a variety of small victories on a number of items affecting women.

• **Pregnant workers.** Congress is expected to overrule the Supreme Court this year on the issue of pregnancy coverage for employer-sponsored disability plans. The Court ruled such coverage unnecessary in December. Legislation that amends the 1964 Civil Rights Act to require employers to treat pregnant women "as other persons similar in their ability or inability to work" has been introduced and is gaining support.

• **Abortion.** A federal court overruled Congress on this controversial issue last December. The Hyde amendment, which prohibits use of federal funds for abortion except in cases where the mother's life is in danger, was blocked at that time, but Congressional and presidential support for it has given hope to abortion foes. They are pressing for a Constitutional amendment outlawing abortion and more than 90 members of Congress have sponsored various bills to that effect so far this season.

"Unless civil rights groups and women organized with great speed, it is only a matter of time before an anti-abortion constitutional amendment is passed," says Susan Tenenbaum of Women's Washington Representative.

• **Childcare.** Last year a law passed allow-

No major gains are anticipated, but there should be some small victories.

ing parents to deduct up to \$800 from their income tax for childcare, but then Senator Walter Mondale's comprehensive Child and Family Services Act did not pass. That bill, which drew praise from feminist groups, required community and parent control of local centers that provided medical, nutritional and educational services for children. A well-financed campaign charging that its passage would mean government takeover of parental responsibility stalled the bill, but it will probably be reintroduced this session.

Women's rights groups will be joined on this issue by Joan Mondale and Rosalyn Carter, both of whom are on record in support of childcare. Still, the bill is not expected to pass easily. "Childcare seems to be the last thing on everyone's agenda," says Mary Grace Plaskett of NOW.

• **Women workers.** A proposal to make ten percent of federal civil service jobs part-time has been introduced. Essentially the result would be to bring more women with young children at home into the federal work force. Labor is generally opposing the measure.

Congress is also considering a higher minimum wage that would benefit low-paid women workers. Women's groups will also try to have the amount of tips an employer can credit against the mini-

mum wage lowered. That measure would benefit waitresses more than waiters who often have higher hourly wages, though all restaurant personnel who receive tips would benefit.

• **Rape.** Most reform of laws concerning rape has been on the state level, but a measure banning use of a victim's past sexual history in rape cases will probably pass the 95th Congress.

• **Social Security and taxes.** Legislation to end the Social Security system's sex discrimination has been introduced. The measure would allow nonworking wives or husbands direct rights to benefits of their working spouses. Among other things the measure would help women who did not work outside the home most of their lives who were divorced late in life. Although the Supreme Court recently ruled in this direction when it granted widowers benefits based on wives' earnings, the bill has little chance of passing.

On the other hand, action is likely on tax deductions for unmarried taxpayers with dependents, who are mostly women. A bill making their deductions equal to those of married people with dependents is likely to pass soon.

• **Displaced homemakers.** A bill providing federal funds to set up centers to train women who suddenly must enter the work force due to divorce or death of a husband

has been introduced. Passage is probable.

• **Welfare.** Over 80 percent of welfare recipients are women and children. The Carter administration will propose a welfare reform package this spring; activists are hoping for a federal minimum on payments. They also want to eliminate the need for a family to purchase a certain amount of food stamps before receiving benefits.

• **Gay civil rights.** A bill ending discrimination based on sexual preference has 25 House supporters but it probably won't pass this session. Senate supporters may introduce a more limited bill barring employment discrimination, which stands a better chance of serious consideration.

Women's rights activists point out that several proposed reform measures fail to adequately meet women's needs. For example, no national health insurance proposal includes women's special needs for contraception, abortion, drug safety and protection from unnecessary surgery. Carter's anti-recession package features public works jobs that benefit the mostly male construction industry, although women face higher unemployment.

Forty women's groups recently joined together to protest Carter's lack of action on campaign promises concerning women in high posts. They are also determined to make the 95th Congress one of legislative progress for women. "We intend to keep the pressure on," says Ann Kolker of National Women's Political Caucus.

—Judy MacLean

ELECTIONS

Hard times on electoral front

Berkeley

In a stunning blow to Berkeley's left, the three candidates of Berkeley Citizen's Action, a progressive electoral coalition that already has two members on the city council, were soundly defeated in last week's city election.

The election centered on a rent control ordinance, which the victorious slate of four moderate candidates, led by incumbent city council member Sue Hone, claimed would bring "class warfare" to Berkeley. The anti-rent control forces spent \$114,000 in a campaign to defeat the ordinance, focusing their attacks on the fact that it applied to small homeowners who need to rent out a room as well as to owners of large multi-unit apartment buildings.

The ordinance was defeated 21,970 to 13,111 votes. Communist party member Mark Allen, running as a left independent, was also defeated.

In Oakland, black judge Lionel Wilson, whose widespread support included Congressman Ron Dellums and the Black Panther party, won 46 percent of the vote, putting him into a May runoff that he is expected to win.

Chicago

Chicago's political machine may be getting old, but the April 19 mayoral primaries showed no signs of it breaking down. Michael Bilandic, the regular Democrats' choice to succeed the late Mayor Richard Daley, won 51 percent of the votes in a field of six candidates.

He will face the ritual sacrificial offering of the Republicans, this time Ald. Dennis Block, in the June 7 special election.

A low turnout for the election helped

Bilandic. His strongest challenge came from Ald. Roman Pucinski, whose 32 percent showing was slightly better than predicted. Pucinski, a machine stalwart who bucked his old buddies when they slated Bilandic, won seven of the city's 50 wards largely on a Polish and other East European ethnic vote. That bloc is slightly angry with the machine but far from lost to it.

Harold Washington, a black state senator who had the endorsement of Independent Voters of Illinois, the main white liberal reform organization, tallied a disappointing 11 percent. Hampered by a late start, no money, indifferent or hostile press coverage, a badly organized campaign and a past conviction for failing to file income tax returns, Washington made the best showing yet for a black mayoral candidate in the Democratic primary, but that isn't saying much.

Washington won 35 percent of the black vote, but Bilandic polled 48.5 percent (the remainder going primarily to Pucinski). Bilandic's total was virtually identical to what Daley ran up in the 1975 primary, when black independent votes were split between William Singer, a liberal white alderman, and state Sen. Richard Newhouse. Preliminary returns showed that Washington won four wards, including interracial Hyde Park in the University of Chicago neighborhood.

Washington's support came mainly from the black middle class, according to political analyst Don Rose. If poor blacks bother to vote, they are usually beholden to or frightened by the machine, he says. Washington got almost no votes in the northside wards along the lake shore, traditionally the base of liberal anti-machine candidates. Most white independents seemed to have stayed home.

Washington's failure to dig deeply into the black community and to win the backing of white reform leaders and voters, despite an often imaginative approach to the issues, leaves the electoral prospects against Bilandic in the regular 1979 election looking very gloomy at the moment. Singer has announced that he will run again, but his refusal to run or

to endorse anyone in this election hurts his independent credentials. IVI has been weakened by its failure to deliver for Washington and by dissension within its ranks over the endorsement. Black independents are determined to run a black candidate and will refuse to support a white liberal. Unless something dramatic happens, at least one black and one white independent, probably Singer, will cut into each other's potential base while Bilandic steers the old machine straight ahead.

Although the overall vote division was "not that much different from the last election," according to Rose, the inability of progressive forces in the city to move ahead decisively now that Daley is gone is "disheartening."

—David Moberg

San Francisco

By Joel Parker

San Francisco. The political shockwaves set off by the passage of proposals for district election of city-county supervisors here last November have not yet subsided. A group calling itself Citizens for Total Representation filed 32,000 signatures March 31 demanding repeal of the district plan before it can take effect. If 23,000 of the signatures are upheld, a special election will take place sometime this summer to decide the fate of the measure.

Local political observers are stunned at the grass-roots victory of the community-labor coalition backing district elections against the formidable opposition of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, both daily newspapers, and ten of the 11 supervisors. But within days, repeal forces announced the creation of Citizens for Total Representation, a "grass-roots organization" who claimed that "voters didn't understand the issue" and that "district elections would throw the city into political chaos." Money behind the

repeal drive was quickly traced to the Chamber of Commerce.

The petition campaign concentrated in the offices of downtown corporations and the wealthy enclaves of the city.

At stake is access to city government. Under the present system, supervisors are elected at-large. Huge amounts of money are necessary to conduct city-wide campaigns, and most of that money flows down from the coffers of the Chamber of Commerce and the giant corporations it represents.

A surprisingly candid editorial in the January issue of *San Francisco Business*, published by the Chamber, admitted that "most business leaders, unfortunately, don't reside in San Francisco and must, therefore, rely upon their persuasive power and money to influence the course of local politics."

Backers of district elections contend that it is exactly this "financial influence" that the reform could end. Supervisors would be forced to live in the district they are elected from, with only voters in that district voting.

Change in the composition of the board of supervisors could be dramatically quick—all current supervisors would be thrown out of office in November when district elections take place, barring repeal.

The district elections coalition is now remobilizing for the special election. The original victory was garnered by building overwhelming majorities in minority areas and carrying almost every working class section of the city. Special elections are notorious for low turn-outs by precisely these voters.

The neighborhood forces behind district elections have organized a series of Community Congresses in the newly-formed 11 districts. These congresses are developing issues platforms for change against which future candidates can be measured. While different districts have met with varying degrees of success, several have involved scores of people new to the political process, and their first priority will be to defend district elections.

Joel Parker lives in San Francisco.

THE MILITARY

Blacks still face charges for assault on Pendleton Klan

By Bill Ritter

San Diego. It has been nearly six months since a group of black Marines broke up what they believed to be a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan at the Marine Corps' Camp Pendleton, and the incident is still as controversial and unresolved as it was when it made national headlines last year.

Of the 14 blacks charged with the Nov. 13 raid on a beer-drinking party (the Klan meeting was taking place in the barracks next door), ten still face court martial on charges ranging from aggravated assault and conspiracy to commit assault to attempted murder.

In the aftermath of the attack, Marine officials found a list of Klan members, a .357 pistol, ammunition, gun powder, smoke grenades, night sticks and buck knives (routinely carried by many white Marines and called "nigger sticks") in the attached barracks.

Although the Marine Corps doesn't like to discuss it, racial problems at the camp have been widespread. In the last three years there have been some 200 acts of violence at Camp Pendleton, resulting in hundreds of serious injuries. More than a dozen of these clashes have been labeled as major brawls by the Corps itself.

►Klan activity well documented.

Klan activity is well documented. In addition to cross burnings and breaking windows of black officers in nearby Oceanside, Klan meetings have been advertised around the base and "white power" signs and slogans have been in abundance.

Home base for more than 32,000 Marines—18 percent of whom are black—the giant Pendleton installation came under public scrutiny from the press and a host of other interested parties in the wake of the attack, including David Duke, national grand dragon of the Klan; black Congresswoman Yvonne B. Burke; Rev. Jesse Jackson; and officials from the San Diego Urban League, which had

been the first to publicly reveal Klan activity at the base. It also sparked the interest of a wide variety of progressive white, black and Chicano groups.

The Corps responded to the unwelcome attention by jailing the 14 blacks allegedly involved in the attack, transferring and discharging some of the Klan members and steadfastly maintaining that the lid was on any racial tension that might have existed.

One of the charged blacks has had his charges dropped, one has been granted immunity and two have pleaded guilty to lesser charges. All of the remaining defendants are now out of the brig, awaiting hearings, which have been put off several times. They are being defended by a civilian defense team, headed by lawyers from San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

►Controversy in ACLU.

The American Civil Liberties Union has become involved in the case and has found itself embroiled in intense internal controversy as a result. Some of the defense attorneys are members of the ACLU. At the same time, the civil liberties group, through its San Diego office, has filed suit on behalf of some Klan members, charging the Corps with violating their due process and First Amendment rights by transferring them to different bases solely because of their political beliefs. The suit, filed by San Diego ACLU attorney Mike Pancer, seeks monetary damages for Klan members.

The decision to file the suit for the KKK sent shockwaves throughout the ACLU network. While the majority of members saw both the suit and the defense of the blacks as consistent with the group's purpose of defending civil liberties, other members have become outspoken critics of the group's dual position.

"The KKK lawsuit is an uninformed, opportunistic, racist piece of litigation," says Mark Rosenbaum, an ACLU attorney who is a member of the team de-



A Marine MP attempts to protect the civil rights of the Klan: the white protester had attacked David Duke of the Klan with the placard, and the MP attacked the protester during a demonstration at Camp Pendleton.

fending the black Marines. "It's totally without basis. What the Klan was involved with on that base was extraordinarily violent and provocative activity. And in the zeal to demonstrate our civil libertarianism, what has totally been abandoned is the facts of the situation."

While Rosenbaum's position is a minority one, it has stirred debate within the ACLU about goals, priorities and politics. At least one staff member in the L.A. office has quit because of the lawsuit.

►Not a defense of violence or positions.

In response to the controversy, the ACLU Southern California chapter recently passed two resolutions—one supporting the lawsuit, the other condemning harassment and violence against minorities in the Marine Corps.

"The lawsuit is not a defense of Klan violence, only a defense of their due process and their subsequent denial of the First Amendment," says Marvin Schach-

ter, associate executive director of the ACLU. "It is absolutely no defense of their alleged organization violence on the base or of the racist propaganda."

Meanwhile, reports continue to filter out of the giant base that Klan activity, despite the transfers, continues. One source says there have been at least four "war councils" of the Klan and other white supremacy groups since the attack to plan further violent actions against blacks on the base. Another Klan member was recently busted for copying KKK material on military equipment. Still another reportedly tried to enlist military police into the Klan's ranks.

Various groups have tried to keep the issue alive in southern California, but splits and competition among them have reduced the impact a solid support group might have.

The trials of the black defendants are expected to last into the summer.

Bill Ritter lives and writes in San Diego.

Naval report documents Klan activity in Marines

By Todd Darling
Pacific News Service

Camp Pendleton, Calif. A confidential Naval Investigative Services report on racial unrest at the nation's largest Marine base here has documented widespread illegal activity by a small but highly organized white supremacist group bent on fomenting racial conflict.

The report, ordered by the Camp Pendleton Marine Commandant and carried out by Naval investigative personnel, goes beyond previous accounts of the deteriorating racial situation here. It documents deliberate strategies by Marine Ku Klux Klan members and their links with outside racist organizations.

Klan tactics, listed in the 600-page report, include harassment and beatings of black Marines, arson of homes and autos of black personnel, the fire-bombing of a black social service agency and dissemination of hate literature aimed at Jews and Chicanos as well as blacks.

The report was submitted as pre-court martial evidence in the case of ten black Marines currently facing charges of criminal assault on six white Marines here last November. The report reveals a series of illegal and provocative acts carried out on and off the base by Klan members and threats of reprisals by both blacks and

whites prior to the assault.

Police reports included in the Naval document suggested the Klan fire-bombed a van owned by a black ex-Marine and his white wife living in Oceanside. Police reports also confirmed cross burnings in the area.

A military policeman quoted in the report charged that Marine Klansmen had slashed the tires of five autos belonging to black Marines and may have wired others to catch fire.

An anonymous Marine Klansman told investigators that the Klan had beaten up a black pimp who operated in the Camp Pendleton area and had carried out a "raid" on a black Marine "to warn him." The informant declined to elaborate on why the raid was made or what was done.

►Reports, threats and violence.

The Naval document, based on a score of interviews with military personnel here and reports from local police and FBI files, also points to Klan activity on Marine bases at Twentynine Palms, Calif., and Okinawa.

Sgt. Randal Clouse, identified in the report as leader of the Camp Pendleton Klan, told investigators that the Klan followed three basic strategies within the Corps.

The first strategy was to use any pre-

text to "put on report" to the Marine command blacks who showed signs of independence or militancy. The second was to personally threaten "the opposition," and, third, if such intimidation failed, to carry out "violent vigilante action outside the base."

The Marine Klansman admitted he was a member of the California State Klan organization and added that members of civilian racist organizations had urged him "to take more violent action against blacks on the base." Other racist organizations in contact with Marine Klansmen, according to the document, included the San Diego Nazi party, the National States Rights party and an obscure local group called the White Brotherhood.

The report also linked Marine Klansmen with illegal racist attacks outside the base. An anonymous Marine informant from inside the Klan told investigators that the Klan was "probably responsible" for last October's fire-bombing of the Oceanside Urban League office near Camp Pendleton. Police reports of the molotov cocktail raid on the office of the national racial justice organization agreed with the informant.

►Crucial part of defense.

The Naval report, entitled "Racist Extremist/Dissident Group Activities," is expected to be a crucial part of the de-

fense at the court martial hearings. The defense is arguing that black Marines—faced with an increasingly desperate situation in which the Marine command had failed to counteract, or even acknowledge, the physical threat to blacks—had mounted a show of strength in self-defense.

"The [Naval Investigative] report clearly indicates mounting racial tension. The Marines [command] were well aware of it. The blacks were acting in self-defense," one of the civilian defense lawyers, David Weitzman of Berkeley, says.

The Naval investigation concentrates on activities surrounding the Nov. 13 assault. The attack culminated a tension-filled week of racial incidents—a fight in the mess hall, a brawl on a Pendleton bus, and reported threats of reprisal actions by whites in which, according to the report, "all hell was going to break loose."

The report quotes varying estimates of actual Marine Klan membership but concludes that the number 50 given by some of those interviewed is exaggerated. The average troop strength at Camp Pendleton is 44,000. The base information said no figures are available on a racial basis.

Although each person interviewed by the Naval Investigative Service was asked if he knew of any black organization on the base, no one reported any.

Todd Darling is a free-lance writer based in Oakland, Calif.

LABOR

Rank and file challenge in IBEW

By Dan Marschall
Staff Writer

Chicago. Everyone figured that this would be no ordinary union meeting. The date was April 19, five days before voting would take place in the most highly-publicized and hotly-contested election in the 40 year history of Local 1031 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). About 250 union members nervously milled around the Guild Hall, campaign buttons blazing, anxious for the meeting to begin. If there was a time for the candidates to exchange verbal blows, this was it.

Weeks of bitter electioneering had drawn sharp contrasts between the opposing slates. On the one side were the current officers, appointed by the local's retiring head and lacking any working experience in the electrical shops. On the other side was the United IBEW Workers, a rank and file caucus of shop workers demanding a greater degree of union democracy.

Routine union business topped the meeting's agenda. Then Dick Deason, interim business manager, talked about the impact of foreign imports on members' jobs. The hall came alive. Several members proposed that the union adopt other measures to save jobs—besides petitioning the Carter administration for import quotas—and the meeting rapidly turned into a partisan display of clapping, booing, screaming, foot-stomping, and gavel-pounding.

►BINGO to the rescue.

But the ruckus didn't last for long. Within five minutes, the leadership introduced its time-tested crowd-pleaser—BINGO. The numbered ping-pong balls began bouncing, the BINGO board flashed, and union members pulled out their cards. Before long everyone was engrossed in their individual chances for victory. So much for the debate of controversial issues.

Monthly Bingo games are just one of the techniques employed by union officers to stifle discussion and discourage participation in union affairs, say supporters of the United IBEW Workers. With 16,000 members their union is one of the largest in the country. Maurice Perlin, the president/business manager for 12 years, is closely tied to Chicago's Democratic machine. After being elected to Appellate Court Judge last year, he is leaving his \$79,000-per-year union post.

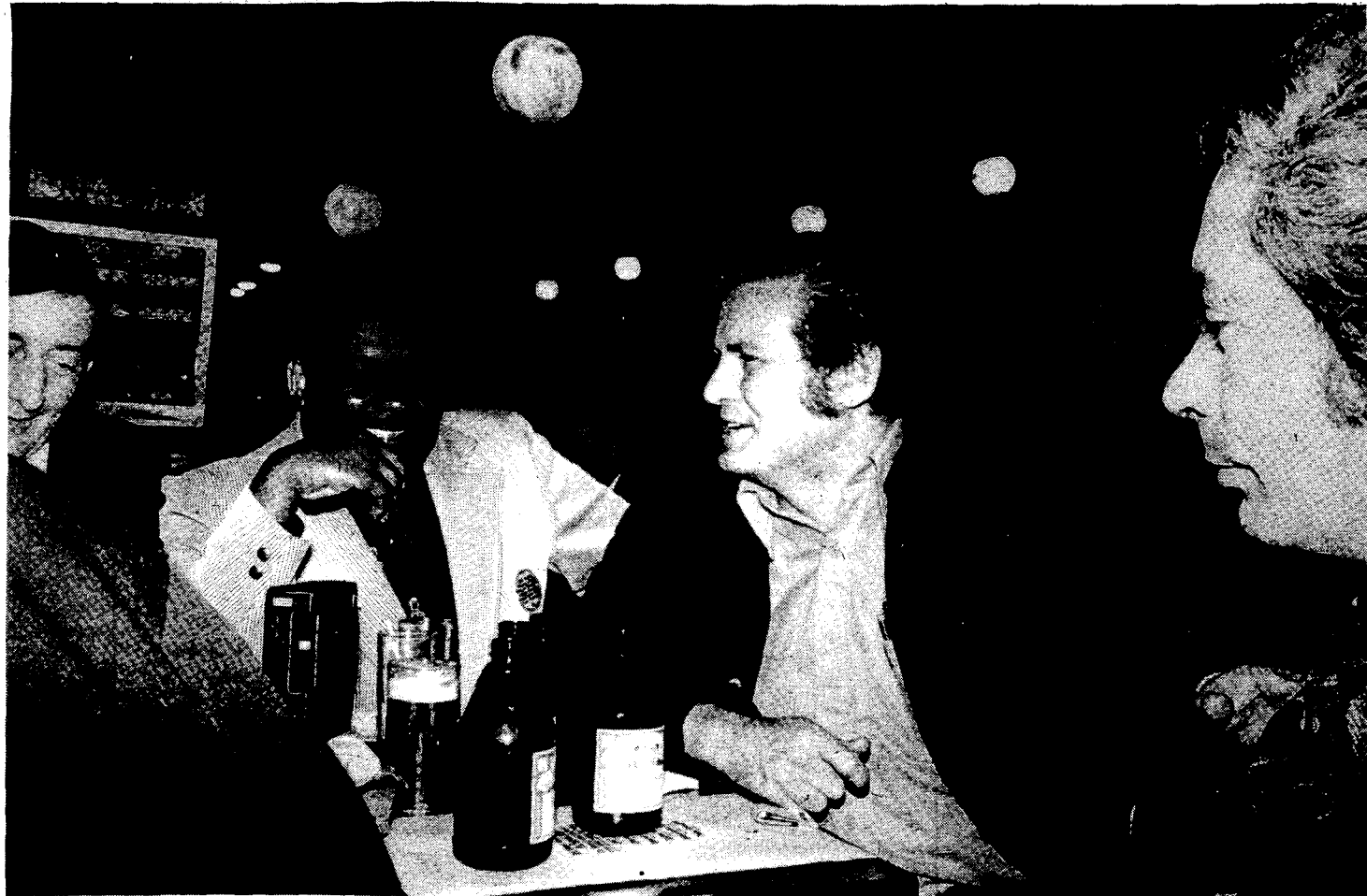
IBEW Local 1031 is an industrial oddity in a craft-oriented international union. About 70 percent of the local's members work at unskilled production jobs like fabricating parts, assembly and testing. These lower paid workers are predominantly black, Latino and female, with Spanish-speaking workers becoming more prevalent in IBEW-organized shops.

►Umbrellas and diamonds.

The story of Local 1031 goes back to the mid-1930s when the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) set out to organize large numbers of unskilled electrical workers. Threatened by the mushrooming membership of unions like the CIO's United Electrical workers (UE), the IBEW chartered its own "B" local in Chicago. "The 'B' designation meant that the local did not have the policy-making power of the journeyman's local. It had only one vote at IBEW conventions," explains Dick Criley, a former union organizer.

"The head of Local 1031 for years was 'Umbrella' Mike Boyle. He got his name because he carried an umbrella and when he would go to various bosses for payoffs, he'd walk into their offices, open the umbrella and the guy would throw money in. Boyle became quite rich, with race horses and all kinds of enterprises," says Criley.

When the IBEW created 1031B in 1936, Boyle appointed his bodyguard, Michael Frank Darling, as first president/business



Everett Biegalski, Tom Gresham (left) and Neil Burke (far right), United IBEW Workers' candidates for union offices, chat with Mike LaVelle (center), labor columnist for the Chicago Tribune.

manager. Darling relied on other techniques to build the local he inherited—seducing women and fighting communists. "Mike Darling was a very special kind of guy. He wore diamond rings on both hands and hand-painted ties that he'd pay fantastic sums of money for," explains Criley.

"One woman told a story about working with Darling on an out-of-state organizing drive. They all stayed in the same hotel. Mike would systematically make the rooms of all seven women in a night. Their organizing equipment included a trailer with a bed inside that he would use as a trysting place to rendezvous with female workers," Criley remembers.

►The Flo Ziegfeld of labor.

During WWII and soon thereafter, organization of the electrical industry proceeded at a rapid pace. Most of it was done by the UE, which developed a reputation as a militant, democratic union. IBEW Local 1031 reportedly helped to undercut the UE in Chicago by offering sweetheart deals to electrical companies.

By the late 1940s, IBEW Local 1031 grew to 47,000 members. To counter the "communists" in his own union, Darling transformed union meetings into musical extravaganzas that earned him the title, the "Flo Ziegfeld of American labor." He once explained his reasoning to a reporter: "One night some guy got up and made a 20-minute speech on why we ought to protest President Roosevelt's participation in the Tehran conference. Then another guy got up and talked for 20 minutes on why we shouldn't, and so on, back and forth.

"I recognized them as Commies and knew their strategy. They wanted to bore the members to death at every meeting," Darling remarked. "They intended to keep it up until the regular members would get disgusted, quit coming to meetings, and stop voting in the elections. That's how 20 or 25 Communists can take over a union..."

For the next 20 years, local union meetings became monthly theatrical productions. There was always a chorus line—affectionately labeled "Darling's Darlings." Union members who tried to raise questions about working conditions, speed-ups, or plant shutdowns were silenced by shouts of, "Aw, shut up, we

want to see the entertainment!"

While Darling nurtured his image as master showman, the curtains were slowly closing on his once-gigantic union. By 1964, when he died in office, he had allowed his union to slip to 30,000 members. Dozens of Chicago electrical factories had fled overseas in search of cheap labor. The union then passed to Maurice Perlin, Darling's lawyer for 17 years.

►Apathy and disillusionment.

This historical background is important to grasp, say supporters of the United IBEW Workers, since it explains why an overwhelming sense of apathy and disillusionment still pervades the union. Only once, in 1968, did Perlin face any serious competition for the top office. Only 15 percent of the local's 30,000 members voted in that election and Perlin won easily.

At Perlin's last union meeting in December, the top posts were divided into president and business manager. The officers also pushed through changes in the local by-laws that further decrease union democracy. The changes remove the right to elect stewards and make it very inconvenient for all members to vote.

Perlin then passed the union to his trusted associates—Dick Deason and Mort Getzov. In the tradition of Mike "Ziegfeld" Darling, Deason immediately accused certain sinister forces of trying to take over the union and pledged to uphold its decent image in the face of "attempted mob rule" and "Communism."

But the six candidates on the United IBEW slate are bonafide rank-and-filers who eschew leftist rhetoric in favor of common sense appeals to union democracy. Despite small voter turnout in the past and the rules changes, observers say they have a good chance to win.

When it formed three years ago the caucus focused on filing charges against racial and sexual discrimination. Their program now includes drastic cuts in officers' salaries, training sessions for stewards, the election of stewards, and having copies of the contract in Spanish and English.

►Not "young revolutionaries."

After the recent United Steel Workers

election, a reporter telephoned Everett Biegalski, caucus candidate for business manager, about an article on "young revolutionaries" in labor unions. "I talked to him for about 20 minutes," Biegalski told IN THESE TIMES, "before letting him know that I'm not exactly the kind of young revolutionary he had in mind. I'm 60 years old and have enough experience to know what's a good union and what's a bad union. The people in 1031 are being intimidated and kept down and they don't have strong enough leaders to back them up."

Biegalski's union experience includes serving on the negotiating committee at Continental Can and editing the union newspaper at a United Auto Workers' plant. Neil Burke, candidate for president, is a chief steward who represents more than 2,700 members. Both are skilled workers with years of on-the-job experience "fighting for the people."

But the United IBEW Workers also reflects the union's changing membership and varied occupational structure. Two of the candidates are women production workers and three are black. Tom Gresham, a black candidate for treasurer, charges that union stewards fail to adequately represent workers and that negotiations are a hollow joke where the "company people come in and tell the union representatives what the company is going to give and that's it."

Gresham also resents professional types who think they can defend electrical workers without ever experiencing the conditions under which they work. "A lawyer over a union is in the same position as management over the employees. Management doesn't work in the shop and neither have the lawyers who are running our union," he says.

►Lots of encouragement.

If the United IBEW slate triumphs, the feudal kingdom of Local 1031 may finally see the light of union democracy. "In my plant, I've heard a lot of encouragement," comments Gresham. "When people have a beef, they come to me instead of going to a steward. Even some of the old-timers are beginning to come around. They used to take the leaflets and throw them on the floor. Now you see them walking around looking for the paper to find out what's going on."

IN THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

The space for compromise narrows

By Robert A. Manning

Stalemated UN Security Council talks on South Africa appear to reflect the failure of the first major test of the Carter administration's Africa policy and suggest that American efforts to attain compromise solutions in southern Africa may be outpaced by heightening conflict and rapid polarization in the region.

UN ambassador Andrew Young has led frantic behind-the-scenes maneuvers to head off resolutions sponsored by the African members of the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo, economic embargo, halt foreign investment and declare the apartheid regime a threat to international peace subject to intervention under the UN charter.

When the talks began last month Young drafted a compromise declaration urging South Africa to end apartheid, grant immediate independence to Namibia, and end support for Ian Smith's minority regime in Rhodesia, while making no mention of any UN enforcement. African delegates described Young's alternative as "toothless" and refused to compromise for what they see as another empty gesture.

The U.S. and its NATO allies on the Security Council oppose total sanctions against South Africa and have vetoed similar resolutions in the past (Carter and Young describe economic sanctions as "counter productive"). If no compromise method of pressuring South Africa is found, Young will be forced to veto the resolutions.

►Vorster resists UN rule.

Young kicked off the Carter administration's attempt to avoid a UN confrontation with his Africa shuttle last February. In mid-March he met secretly for two and a half hours with P. W. Botha, South African ambassador to Washington. According to leaked reports, Young gave Botha blunt warnings of what may be in store



S. AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER
JOHN VORSTER

The Vorster government's refusal to relax its apartheid policies and to end the occupation of Namibia has created a dilemma for American policy-makers who have been seeking a compromise solution.

if South Africa resists American pressure for moderate change.

On April 16 in what appeared to be a last-ditch effort, the American, British, French, and West German ambassadors met with South African Premier Vorster to urge him to grant Namibia, which South Africa is illegally occupying, immediate independence and to hold free elections under UN supervision. Vorster, who has stage-managed a plan for "independence" in Namibia along ethnic lines, has resisted any UN role.

South Africa's plan for Namibia's independence is embodied in a constitution that is believed to have been drawn up by a New York lawyer who has represented Clemens Kapuuo, a tribal chief hand-picked by Pretoria as the first president.

While there would be local self-rule within the designated white and Bantustaan areas, the national parliament would be based on ethnic lines with foreign affairs and defense under white control. In addition, the proposed constitution would ban SWAPO, the Marxist or-

ganization that both the UN and the Organization of African Unity have recognized as the "sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people." The U.S. has said that SWAPO should be included in any government "along with other political forces."

South African intransigence has limited American policy options. Carter has found that the space for compromise that Henry Kissinger was trying to fill has grown narrower.

►The Atlanta model.

In the top-level review of African policy currently being conducted, one alternative being considered is to apply more economic pressure to force change from above. Young envisions exporting to South Africa the "Atlanta model" where civil rights activists persuaded corporate interests to desegregate for their own self-interest.

In an interview with the South African *Financial Mail*, Carter expressed his optimism about using the power of American investment, which totals nearly \$2

billion, to force these changes.

Among the immediate measures being considered—short of an economic boycott—are ending tax credits to American firms in South Africa, pushing American firms to upgrade opportunities for black employees and ending nuclear energy and intelligence sharing.

But while some white businessmen like Harry Oppenheimer, the head of huge Anglo-American mining conglomerate and organizer of the Progressive Reform party, favor an end to apartheid, the Vorster regime has continued a hardline course since the Soweto rebellions last June. In fact, the more Carter has prodded Vorster, the more his political constituency has feared a sell-out and has increased pressures on Vorster for total intransigence.

The Parliament dominated by Vorster's National party, with its conservative base among Afrikaner farmers, recently bolstered the pattern of repression by tightening police and judicial powers and raising the defense budget 21 percent to a record \$1.8 billion. Vorster also announced that a second bantustaan, Bophuthatswana, would follow the Transkei and gain "independence" in December.

Many observers, recalling the American "destabilization" waged against the Allende government in Chile through financial and political pressures view a similar course as the only way clearly to place the U.S. on the side of African liberation aspirations. But even congressional liberals such as Sen. Dick Clark (D-Iowa) and Charles Diggs, (D-Mich.) who have Carter's ear, would not go that far, although they urge stronger measures than Carter and Young.

The question ahead is where will the U.S. stand when the crunch comes? The outcome of the coming Security Council debate on South Africa may be a barometer in that regard.

Robert A. Manning is a Berkeley journalist who writes for *In These Times* on foreign affairs.

White challenge to Vorster splinters

By Bill Gaither

A bitter and divisive split within the English-speaking opposition in South Africa is enabling prime minister John Vorster to maintain his iron rule and repressive policies despite an increase in racial tensions and worsening economic conditions caused by these policies.

Last December, when Parliament recessed, it was widely expected that a moderate coalition of the United party (UP) and the Progressive Reform party (PRP) would challenge Vorster's rule. A growing willingness among white South Africans to moderate apartheid led a joint steering committee of the two parties to agree on a common platform for the reduction of racial discrimination.

But by the time Parliament reconvened in January, the coalition had floundered. UP members had demanded a policy of "separate but equal." The PRP insisted on a common franchise for all South Africans.

In the March 2 Johannesburg city council elections, the coalition dissolved in the scurry for votes. The UP, which had controlled the city for the last 30 years, campaigned directly against its moderate allies, and Vorster's National party carried the day.

Claiming a great victory, Vorster has moved to consolidate his rule and his

apartheid policies. Last month, he called for press censorship. After having put a scare into the opposition, he then agreed to a compromise—a formal liaison between his government and the Newspaper Press Union.

But while Vorster's white opposition is temporarily stymied, it cannot stay still for long. As the South African economy plunges deeper into recession, white South Africans are increasingly drawing a connection between South Africa's economic situation and the maintenance of apartheid.

►Recession hits white minority.

For the first time since the Depression of 1929, large numbers of whites are experiencing real difficulties from the dual impact of 11 percent inflation and a recession now in its third consecutive year. The real national growth rate remains at slightly under two percent in an economy where five percent is considered the bare minimum necessary to avoid massive unemployment and plant shutdowns.

With half a million urban blacks already jobless and an additional 300,000 entering the labor market each year, a national manpower survey found in January that 230 of 1,200 companies polled planned further reductions in their black staff in the coming quarter. The survey

also noted that 15.6 percent of the same 1,200 companies also planned to lay off white personnel. A small percentage of white unemployment throughout the rest of the decade seems certain as even the most optimistic predictions on industrial growth rates show an annual rate of expansion of only five to five and a half percent.

One cause of the slump has been South Africa's racial unrest. According to a Mobil Oil executive, last summer's riots reduced the year's GNP by one to one and a half percent. More important, the riots shook the confidence of foreign investors. There has been little new investment, a recent *Business Week* survey reported, and some American companies are considering leaving.

Some South African businessmen seeing the trend have urged a moderation of apartheid. They are concerned not only with South Africa's short-term ability to attract investment, but also by long term considerations.

►Blacks needed for growth.

White businessmen are belatedly realizing that a narrow affluent group of whites is unable to support domestic production of goods and services in the best of times. Blacks are 75 percent of the population, but only receive 19 percent of national income.

In addition to creating a problem of flagging internal demand, apartheid also potentially can lead to a shortage of skilled labor. With blacks barred from such jobs, the Chamber of Mines recently predicted that a five percent rate of growth would result in a 21 percent shortage of skilled labor by the end of the decade.

The businessmen have been joined politically by substantial segments of the white working and middle classes. A nation-wide survey commissioned by the Afrikaans-language newspaper, *Rapport*, reported in December that a slight majority of the 2.2 million voters favored a moderation of apartheid.

These findings confirm an earlier survey conducted by the *Johannesburg Star* that reported 57 percent of its sample willing to accept direct colored representation in Parliament. The same poll showed nearly 50 percent willing to work under a black promoted on the basis of merit.

But Vorster still retains substantial support among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who remain opposed to any relaxation of apartheid. Their support, combined with the fragmentation of the opposition, promises to keep Vorster in power for the time being.

Bill Gaither is a journalist from Durham, N.C., who follows South African politics.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Peace People: the movement stalls

By John Conroy

Belfast. Last Aug. 10, a Provisional IRA volunteer driving a getaway car was shot by a British soldier in the city's Andersonstown section. The auto jumped the curb and crushed three children, aged eight, two and six weeks. The three deaths proved the breaking point for Mairead Corrigan, the children's aunt, who unhesitatingly appeared on television denouncing the IRA. At the same time, Betty Williams, an Andersonstown resident who witnessed the killings, was gathering signatures on a petition for peace.

And so the Peace People came to be. Rallies were held throughout Northern Ireland and the Republic, and there was much emotional hugging and singing of "We Shall Overcome." Protestants marched in the Catholic Falls Road, and Catholics visited the Protestant Shankill. Publicity grew, donations followed, and now the Peace People claim 162 chapters in Northern Ireland and "hundreds more" in the South.

But after a few months of rallies and marches, the movement, born in the emotion of a single tragic incident, with no real program other than a desire for peace, seems to have lost its momentum.

Even some of its early allies have awarded it some healthy doses of criticism. Last October, the SDLP (Social Democratic Labor party), the political party with the most Catholic support at the ballot box, attacked the movement for failing "to harness the great reservoir of support for the aim of peace" and for allowing "irrelevancies to take up valuable organizing time."

Other Catholics have criticized the organization for its attitude toward the army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the largely Protestant police force. The Peace People have said they support the rule of law, but now temper that with some denunciations of the way law enforcement is practiced here.

Protestants, meanwhile, are suspicious of the group because its most prominent leaders—Williams, Corrigan and former journalist Ciaran McKeown—are all Catholic. Others are resentful of the traveling the leaders have done in foreign countries in attempt to gather financial and moral support, are suspicious of the allocation of the large amounts of money collected and are prone to calling the movement "a bunch of women in fur coats."

Unionist politicians say that although the group claims to be unaffiliated with any political party, it has taken political positions that clash with the loyalists, which therefore precludes their support.

►IRA called "scum."

The Peace People—who have been beaten up and threatened with assassination—have responded with a few harsh statements of their own. Betty Williams, who couples an evangelical zeal with a salty tongue, has called the IRA, which has denounced the group as a puppet of the British government, "scum" and local politicians "farcical men who practice the politics of division." McKeown wrote an article a few months ago criticizing the local Catholic bishop and a monsignor for "lurking behind the gates of Milltown Cemetery while peace marchers were being stoned" during a Falls Road march last fall.

"The Church has lacked moral leadership—tremendously so," Williams said in an interview in early March. "I think both churches have a lot to answer for. No one stood up and said 'It is wrong to kill' until two weeks ago. They were afraid they'd lose their congregations."

While many agree privately, criticism of the Church does not sit well in conservative Catholic quarters, of which there are many. "It's all right to be anti-British," analyzes Williams, "but not anti-Church."

The Peace People's most controversial,



Betty Williams, founder and leader of the Peace People.



Belfast policeman with machinegun.

Photos by John Conroy

Even some of the Peace People's early allies have awarded it some healthy doses of criticism. The Social Democratic Labor party, the political party with the most Catholic support at the ballot box, attacked the movement for failing "to harness the great reservoir of support for the aim of peace?"

yet probably most effective program to date, is their escape network, which helps weary, frightened and reluctant members of paramilitary groups move out of the country. Though she won't provide specific details for fear of exposing the network, Williams estimates that about 80 former terrorists have been moved so far.

One source speculates that most have been moved to West Germany, where women's peace groups have provided much support to the Peace People. Some will now be sent to New Zealand, where Prime Minister Robert Muldoon announced that he would give asylum to 20 former prisoners held under the anti-terrorist laws after a meeting with Mairead Corrigan in late February.

"Most of those we're helping are just the ordinary foot soldier, the fellow who is marginally involved but who is afraid of becoming more involved," says McBride. "We just help them, we don't want to hear whatever they might have to tell us because we don't want to be put in the role of informer."

"Solve the Irish problem—emigrate. I've heard that before," says Seamus Loughran, former organizer and press officer for the Provisional Sinn Féin (the Sinn Féin is the political wing of the IRA). "It's another stupid gimmick to get in the news. I can see it for gangsters on the run—it's a nice way to get out of the country or to have a nice holiday."

"I don't think they have any way of checking out those they're supposed to be helping," says Glen Barr, a leader of the loyalist Vanguard party. "It would be easy to con them, and for all they know they could be giving financial help to a Provo propaganda cell."

►Breaking the circle of fear.

In response, the air of suspicion and un-

willingness to compromise has produced criticism from both sides; but the Peace People, who advocate the building of a new state and society "from the bottom up, rather than the top down," are looking to new alternatives.

Our big problem at the moment," says Steve McBride, spokesman for the group, "is to move from hundreds of thousands of people taking part in the relatively passive act of marching to a few hundred or few thousand people being much more active."

To gather new support, the Peace People have moved toward more concrete projects. The group has announced definite plans for the opening of a print co-op in Strabane, a largely Catholic city where unemployment ranges between 20 and 40 percent, depending on whether you accept government estimates or the Peace People's.

To provide employment and mix Catholics and Protestants they are also planning a shirt factory in Londonderry, where the industry has been in decline for at least a decade. An ice skating rink, a 2.5 million pound (\$4.3 million) community center for the residents of the Protestant Shankill and the Catholic Falls Road, a rehabilitation center for ex-prisoners, and a home for battered wives are also in the talking stages.

They also are considering new peace tactics. "There might come a time when we will oppose the paramilitaries in a more direct way," says McBride, who is in charge of organizing peace groups on university campuses in hopes that the young will provide the manpower for more difficult situations. "A lot of ideas have been kicked around. For instance, last summer some people refused to leave buses that were about to be burned. We might do something like that. People

might refuse to acknowledge bomb scares and just stay in the building."

"A lot of what has to be done is just breaking the circle of fear. Individually, each person is weaker than the terrorists, but if we can get individuals to act as a group and say 'no' in the nicest possible way, we might render the paramilitaries powerless. It's impossible to defeat them militarily."

►Link to terrorist convictions.

But so far the effect of the peace movement has been minimal. Although the army and police would never admit it for fear of damaging the organization and giving it the Irish curse—labeling it as an informer—it is speculated that there has been an increased willingness to use the confidential line in Catholic communities since the advent of the peace movement. (The confidential line is the phone number used for conveying information about terrorist activity anonymously.)

The Peace people say they do not encourage anyone to be an informer, but urge all to follow their conscience. Convictions of terrorists on criminal charges have gone up in the last six months, but it would be stretching the statistics considerably to attribute that to the peace movement.

Since the group has claimed it is non-political in the political party sense, it is difficult to measure the depth of their support. Until they try to make a showing at the ballot box or assume an active role as peaceful commandoes, it is hard to believe that they will ever be more than a well intentioned group of social workers with pacifist tendencies. ■

John Conroy is a Chicago journalist who is visiting Northern Ireland.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Israeli new left unites for elections

Israeli parties that have supported peace and the recognition of the rights of both Israelis and Palestinians have formerly been fighting each other as much as they have been fighting their hawk opposition. But in May a new electoral coalition has formed out of these parties to offer an alternative to Israel's voters.

By Mitchell Cohen

The factionalism of the Israeli left and peace forces has been a simple reality of Israeli politics for a number of years. The formation of a new electoral alliance in March called "Sheli" may be the first step in changing this situation and building a new political base for progressive forces. In the upcoming elections, scheduled for May 17, Sheli will present a united list of candidates and parties that have previously been divided against themselves.

"Sheli" is the Hebrew acronym for *Shalom l'Yisrael v'shivyon b'Yisrael*—"Peace and Equality in Israel." Headed by Arye Lova Eliav, a former Secretary-General of the Israeli Labor party and currently an Independent Socialist member of the Knesset (parliament), Sheli is running on a platform calling for both Israelis and Palestinians to recognize each others' rights of national self-determination, Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 following a comprehensive peace agreement, and a re-orientation of Israeli domestic priorities.

Although at present Sheli is only an election alignment there is already serious talk of merging into a political party. The various groups and parties involved in Sheli are best represented by the first four names on its list of candidates for the Knesset:

• **Arye Lova Eliav** was elected to the Knesset in 1973 on the list of the ruling Labor party. Former administrative head of Labor, which has ruled Israel since its creation, he has had a long and distinguished political career that began with work in the Hagana (Jewish underground) promoting illegal immigration during the British Mandate and has in-

cluded serving as a deputy minister in the government and as First Secretary of the Israeli embassy in Moscow.

Eliav broke with his party shortly after the last elections, primarily over the Palestinian issue. A vocal dove and socialist, he advocates a Palestinian state next to Israel. After several attempts to work out an alignment with another small party in the Knesset Eliav formed his own group, the Independent Socialists. His book on the Arab/Israeli conflict, *Land of the Hart*, was published in an English translation in 1974 by the Jewish Publication Society of America.

• **Meir Pa'il** is a Knesset member and leader of Moked ("Focus for Peace and Socialist Change"), a socialist-zionist party formed in 1973. A colonel in the Israeli reserves and former director of the Strategies Command College of the Israel Defense Forces, Pa'il, along with Eliav, Dr. Matti Peled and the Israel Council for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace, was involved in the recent negotiations between Israeli doves and PLO representatives in Paris.

Moked's platform says that the party "rejects the capitalist system in Israel, a system which fosters the accumulation of capital, class exploitation and communal and national discrimination." It "affirms Zionism as the national liberation movement of the Jewish people" and at the same time calls for recognition of Palestinian national rights. It sees "any policy of annexation, of infringement upon the rights of the one people by the other, any aspiration of one people to dominate the other and especially the idea of 'an undivided land of Israel' as well as the idea of 'total liberation of Palestine' (presented under the guise of a 'secular democratic state') are a danger to both



Arie Lova Eliav, leading figure in Sheli.

Photo by Jewish Student Press Service

An American Jew in Israel commemorates the holocaust

By Leonard Helfgott

Haifa. Last week the Jews in Israel commemorated the holocaust. It was strange to watch on TV the brute bestiality of the Nazis sandwiched between the Israeli victory of the European Cup basketball final and *Starsky and Hutch*. But the distance, the sense of unreality receded at the sight of naked, humiliated humans systematically butchered by the thousands.

All the history I've learned disappeared at the sight of those people, as much as I resisted it. My mind's eye focused on a five-year-old child, torn from a mother and father, stripped naked and shot through the head.

I asked myself again and again, what theoretical perspective, what kind of politics could explain the holocaust: an entire culture, torn from everyday life, shoved, beaten, humiliated and destroyed. Some theory of the future, perhaps. Marxism doesn't work, or Zionism either.

When I went to Berlin for a conference of Fulbright scholars, I felt Jewish each and every moment. I couldn't look at anyone over 50 without asking myself where he or she was 35 years ago. In subways

and on crowded streets I looked at people's inner arms trying to find the tattooed reminders of concentration camps. To no avail—no tattoos in Berlin.

In Haifa one sees lots of tattoos. Every European Jew here seems to have experienced the terrible past: six years in a concentration camp, three years in Poland's woods eating insects and bark.

I feel a profound connection with the people but not with the state. I search for a mode of explanation that is at once pro-Arab and pro-Jew but am consistently reduced to clichés like binationalism or a secular, democratic Palestine, knowing that these are unworkable slogans far removed from the actual fears of Jews and Arabs alike.

I have a constant sense of impending disaster—of two peoples torn from their essential humanness by a struggle that will end in some form of massacre. The basic issues of life, death, and survival remain in the hands of inept politicians, Jew and Arab alike, tied to outmoded theories and beholden to constituencies whose most basic fear is extermination.

Leonard Helfgott is teaching at the University of Haifa on a Fulbright grant.

peoples and have to be totally rejected."

Moked won 22,000 votes in the last elections. Besides its one Knesset member, Moked also won representation on the executive of the Histadrut, Israel's trade union federation.

• **Uri Avneri** is a well-known Israeli journalist who lost his seat in the Knesset in the 1973 elections. He is neither a socialist nor a Zionist. Avneri, considered somewhat eccentric by some, is editor of *Haolam Hazeh*, an Israeli weekly.

• **Saadya Marciano** was one of the leaders of the Israeli Black Panthers, a group of Oriental Jewish youth from Israeli slum districts who came to prominence in the early 1970s by their demonstrations to illustrate Israeli domestic problems. The Panthers split recently with Marciano going to Moked and other leading members going to Rakach, the Israeli Communist party.

►Supported by prominent Israelis.

A good number of prominent Israelis are supporting Sheli in the upcoming elections. Among them are Ruth Dayan, former wife of Moshe Dayan. Together with Eliav and other Sheli activists she recently went to various towns in the occupied West Bank to talk to notables and townspeople in an effort to counteract a large demonstration by the Gush Emunim demanding territorial annexations.

Also supporting Sheli are Major-General (Res.) Mati Peled (formerly Chief of Logistics of the Israeli army and currently head of the Arabic department at Tel Aviv University), former Finance Min-

istry Director-General Yaakov Arnon and writers Amos Oz and A.B. Yehoshua.

Rakach, the staunchly pro-Soviet Communist party with four members of the current Knesset (out of 120) is running separately in the elections in a front called "Hadash" with several smaller groups. Rakach has received most of its support from Israeli Arabs in the past and will probably gain a few seats in the elections.

It is highly unlikely that Sheli and Rakach will come together in any form in the foreseeable future, partly because of differences over the Soviet Union.

►Only alternative for doves.

While Sheli does not expect to win a large number of seats in the upcoming elections, it hopes to win four or five. Due to the fact that none of the major parties, including the newly formed Democratic Movement for Change (led by archaeologist Yigal Yadin) offer a serious alternative for Israeli doves, Sheli hopes to attract the support of doves and their constituencies in the other parties. Moked was formed in part through the efforts of disaffected members of Mapam (United Workers party), which is part of Labor's electoral alignment. In 1973 Moked ran much better in the Mapam affiliated Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim than had been expected. Now that Mapam is running again with Labor with the hawkish Shimon Peres as candidate for prime minister, Sheli may be able to make inroads with Mapam voters.

Mitchell Cohen is editor of *Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review*, an independent quarterly.

Bill Walton: A total team player



Photos by Ancil Nance

Bill's advocacy of causes isn't just a sideline with him—you see his values even on the basketball court. The way he and his teammates get it on—when they are at their best—shows what can happen when people work together in a selfless, cooperative manner.



Author Jack Scott (The Athletic Revolution) and Bill Walton taking a walk in Portland, where they share a house. Scott says, "It was our mutual interest in sports and shared political and personal values that prompted my decision to share a home with Bill."

By Jack Scott

It was about midnight and I was dozing on the living room couch when the voice of Bob Dylan blaring from a jeep rumbling down our driveway jarred me awake. Bill Walton, one of my housemates, was arriving home after spending an evening with his new teammate, Maurice Lucas. Luke had arrived in Portland only that afternoon, a few days before the opening of training camp, and he and Bill were meeting for the first time.

The volume at which Bill listens to music usually reflects his emotional state, and tonight was no exception. He was flying high and the magic potion was nothing but pure adrenalin.

"I'm pumped, I'm pumped," he repeated over and over as he paced the living room clenching his fists and flexing his upper torso. At one point he stretched wide his arms and a wild growl of joy roared from his mouth.

A half-hour and a few beers later he had relaxed enough to communicate in sentences: "Luke is great. I just wish the season started tomorrow. We're going to have a damn good team."

Seven other new players joined the Portland Trail Blazers this year, and Bill's exuberance about the coming season grew as he met each of them. "This is the way it was in college," he kept saying in the days before training camp opened. "These are the kind of guys I'm used to playing with. This is going to be fun."

►The Grateful Dead blaring.

Two months later, on the 2nd of November, the Blazers had won the fourth of their first five regular season NBA games by beating the Atlanta Hawks. The coming Friday, Nov. 5, had a special meaning for those of us who share a home in Portland. Bill would be celebrating his 24th birthday. On top of that, Dr. J. and the Philadelphia 76ers would be in town for a game with the Blazers.

Erving, who regularly defies the laws of gravity, had only recently joined the 76ers. There was serious talk around the league that, once his team hit stride, they just might cruise through the rest of the regular season unbeaten—or at least not lose any games the Dr. and his teammate Mr. McGinnis took seriously.

Bill and I were lingering over a late lunch, and I was on his case about how the 76ers were going to blow the Blazers off the court. "The honeymoon will be over Friday night. You'll be lucky if you can keep up with Caldwell Jones. If Luke is hot he might be able to play McGinnis even. But Bobby Gross better get a good look at the Dr. before the game starts because it will be the last time he'll see him."

Bill gave me one of his tolerant smiles. "You'll see."

Bill's routine on the day of a home game is pretty consistent. About 9 a.m., after the usual fight over the morning newspaper, he eats a breakfast that normally includes a huge vegetable omelette, toast, potatoes and about a quart of freshly squeezed orange juice. The Blazers have a light practice around 11 even on game days. After practice, Ron Culp, the team's hardworking trainer, usually administers ice packs to Bill's almost always aching knees. Around three Bill comes home for a pre-game meal of soup, salad and a rice and veggies casserole. He naps from about four to six and does not eat again until after the game.

On the afternoon of the 76ers game, writer Herb Kohl was at the house talking about a book he's doing on the rituals athletes and other performers go through to psych themselves up for their work. In the midst of our conversation,

Bill woke from his nap and seated himself in the rocking chair between the huge stereo speakers in our living room. His favorite Grateful Dead album blaring from the speakers, Bill rocked slowly to the music, gathering himself together for the game that was now less than two hours away. He had quietly slipped out of the house and was making the five-minute drive to Memorial Coliseum when Herb and I looked up from our conversation a few minutes later.

►Meanness not dependent on meat.

The high point of the game for the 76ers was their warm-ups. Their never-ending assortment of trick shots, flying slam dunks and other spectacular maneuvers brought more "oh's," "ah's" and applause than would sometimes be heard during an entire Blazer game only a year ago.

Once the game began, however, it was another story. The Blazers came out flying. Lucas and Bill were sweeping the defensive boards and instantly firing outlet passes to the streaking guards, Holling and Twardzik, or to Bobby Cross, the team's "small" forward. The defense was tough and aggressive.

Lionel Hollins, or "Train" as he is called by his teammates, is a second-year player out of Arizona State who is rapidly developing into one of the finer guards in the NBA. He quickly hit a jumper over Doug Collins from the top of the key to give the Blazers a 2 to 0 lead, which they would only increase for the rest of the game. Maurice Lucas then proceeded to score seven straight points, giving the Blazers a 9-0 lead.

Luke is a superb all-around player and the team's "enforcer." Gentle and humble off the court, he plays with a ferocity rarely seen in football, never mind basketball. He's a vegetarian and the world's example that "meanness" is not dependent on eating meat.

►Could have beaten anybody.

Though behind 9-0, the 76ers were obviously still not out of it. It was a few minutes later in the first period when perhaps the key play of the game occurred. Bobby Gross, the most underrated player on the Blazer team, did an outstanding job on Erving most of the night, but there is no one in basketball who can consistently stop Dr. J. Gross got too close to Erving, and with his quick step the Dr. was by Gross and driving for the basket along the left baseline with no one between him and an easy lay-up.

Bill, who seems to have a sixth sense that almost always allows him to be aware of what is happening everywhere on the court, spotted Julius and came flying across the key to pick him up. They both left the floor simultaneously. As he so often does, Julius hung on the air, switched the ball from one hand to the other and then did one of his patented "double pumps." Incredibly for a player his size, Bill somehow managed to hang up there with Erving.

Julius was finally forced to shoot, and Bill forcefully rejected the shot. The crowd instantly broke into thunderous applause and stomping unlike anything I had ever heard in two and a half years of watching Blazer home games. The first quarter ended with the Blazers leading 41-24! The tempo was set, and the Blazers breezed to a 146-104 victory.

The game was one of those rare athletic events that anyone who participated or watched will most likely never forget. George McGinnis twice emphasized after the game that the Blazers were *awesome*. He then spoke about Bill. "Walton did everything, and he did it within a team concept—that's what impressed me. He's

a total team player." And the highest words of praise came from the Dr. himself. "Tonight, they could have beaten anybody that ever played the game."

►The water attack on a white athlete.

One cannot help but look back with amusement on the pronouncement *Sports Illustrated* made two years ago: "All things considered, Walton's gone too far to function in the NBA again." The article was unprecedented in *S.I.*'s history for the viciousness of its attack on an athlete.

The *S.I.* article was followed by a feature story in the Sunday *New York Times* alleging that Bill was faking an injury in an effort to break his contract with the Blazers. The only source for the *Times* story was Sam Gilbert, a millionaire Los Angeles contractor who had once served as a business advisor to Bill. Gilbert's accusations would have been viewed more critically if the *Times* had mentioned that Bill had recently dismissed him because he felt Gilbert's close personal relationships with NBA owners interfered with his properly representing players' interests.

The *Times* story was widely picked up, and its false accusations were reported in hundreds of newspapers throughout the country. Sandy Padwa, a veteran sports editor now at *Newsday*, claimed the attack on Bill was the worst on a white athlete in the history of American sport. "The only contemporary athlete who experienced what Walton did at the hands of the press was Ali," Padwa told me.

But while sports experts were announcing Bill's demise during the past two years, most players and coaches within the game were not deceived. In an interview with a Philadelphia newspaper two years ago, long before he ever dreamed he might someday be Bill's teammate, Corky Calhoun responded to the media criticism of Bill. "They keep saying he's a weird kid," Corky told the writer. "But he's a human being like everyone else. A lot of players in the NBA feel like he does."

Rick Barry had this to say when questioned about Bill over a year ago: "Hey, if that kid is my teammate and comes to play ball every night, I don't care if he wants to eat hickory nuts or sit around in the sun. He's a great team player. If Portland doesn't want him, we'll take him."

►New environment.

As a professional basketball player, the environment Bill found himself working in was bound to create adjustment problems after what he was used to at UCLA.

Bill spent his four years at UCLA during the late 1960s and early '70s, when the environment there was extremely supportive of someone with his values. Professors, students and other athletes admired him just as much for his social consciousness as they did for his athletic accomplishments.

Bill was arrested for a sit-in at the UCLA administration building protesting the mining of Haiphong harbor in the spring of his sophomore year. When asked why he took an action that might jeopardize his basketball career, he responded, "I've been brought up all my life to be peaceful and respect my fellow man. So when I see my government annihilating a whole country, I just have to do something."

He has often spoken out about racism in our society, particularly as it relates to his own career. "I think I've gotten twice as much publicity as I deserve because I'm the 'Great White Hope' in a game that has been dominated by blacks."

In the early days of Watergate, Bill and

10 of his teammates sent a telegram to Nixon urging him to resign. During his freshman year at UCLA, he gave a talk in a speech class about what he believed was the conspiracy and political motivation behind the assassination of President Kennedy.

►Outrages Rotarians.

An experience Bill had shortly after joining the Trail Blazers brought home to him how different his new environment was going to be compared to his days at UCLA. Early in his first season as a pro, Bill tried to oblige Blazer management by attending at their request a businessmen's Rotary Club luncheon. Not intending to upset anyone, he happened to stand with his hands in his pockets during the pre-luncheon pledge of allegiance, and later had to listen to Blazer officials complain about outraged Rotarians.

Blazer officials also fussed about Bill's vegetarian diet. First they complained he weighed too little, and then when he put on some pounds by lifting weights before his second season, they wondered out loud whether he was now too heavy. Many outstanding centers in the NBA were both heavier and lighter than Bill, but since they were meat eaters, no one ever questioned their diets.

And when Bill began to make public pronouncements about the criminal activities of the FBI, Dick Nixon and John Mitchell and Co., all hell broke loose. Suddenly his fitness to participate in professional athletics was questioned. This was happening at a time when one of the stars of professional baseball was known to have murdered a woman and when Ernie Holmes of the Pittsburgh Steelers had spent an afternoon taking target practice at police with his 30-30. But an outspoken social activist who talked about solar energy, pollution and socialism was another matter.

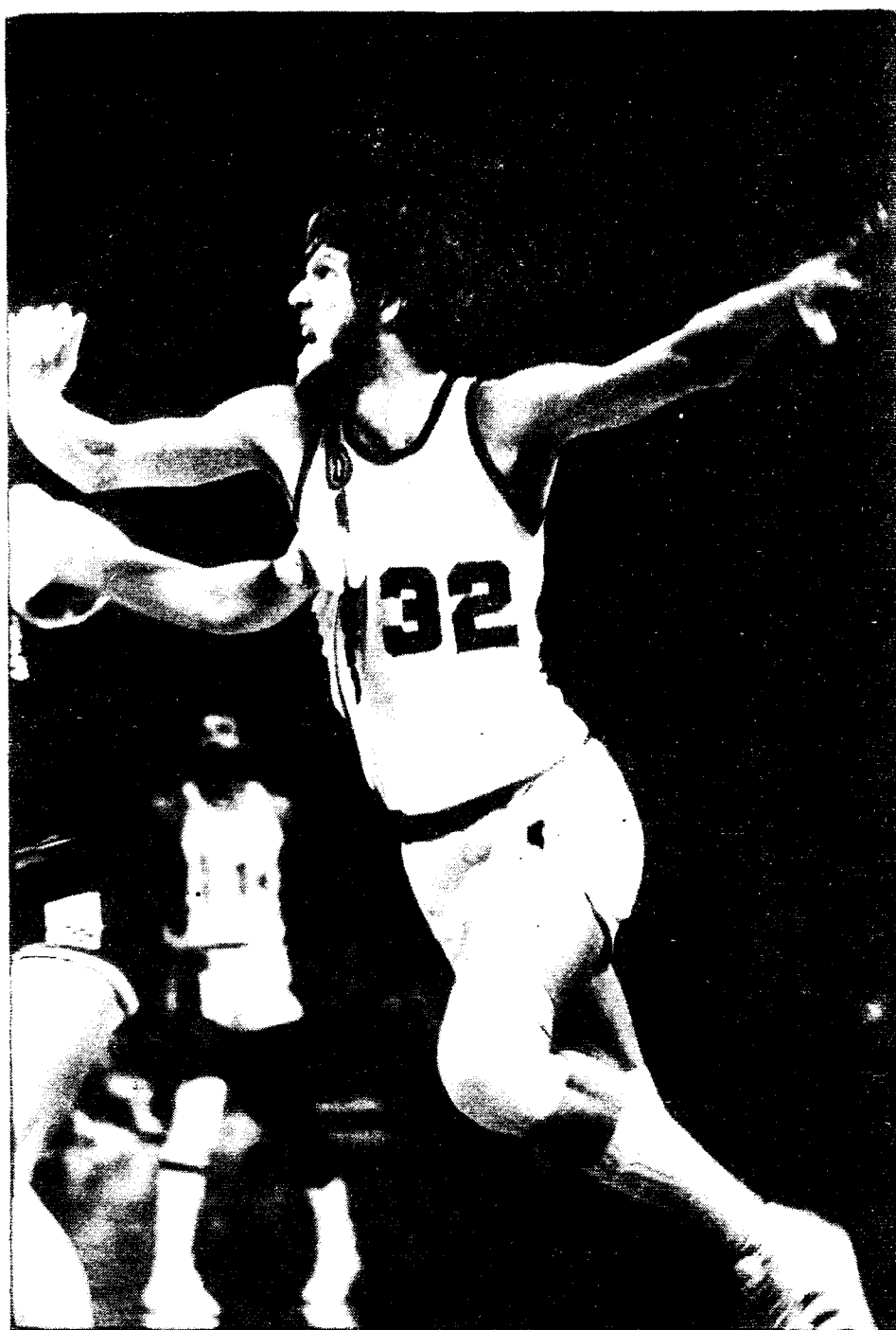
During Bill's first two years he also had to hear numerous theories about why he was so often injured. Dr. Bob Cook, the Blazer team physician, says there is an obvious medical explanation for most of the injuries that plagued Bill his first two seasons, and it has nothing to do with his vegetarianism, political activism or lifestyle—the three things most often singled out by many writers and sportscasters.

An early summer knee operation that prevented Bill from doing any serious running for several months forced him to enter his rookie year in less than top physical condition. Soon his seemingly endless string of injuries began. An injury that would sideline him for awhile, but he would be rushed back into action because of his crucial value to the team. In pro basketball, the treatment for a broken nose is to breathe through your mouth.

Bill's injuries were more serious than that, but he played hard all the same. In fact, Bill plays with a joy and abandon seldom seen in the pros, moving his massive frame around the court as if he were one of the "little guys."

When you play that way in a game that, for physical contact, makes college basketball look like the Dance of the Sugarplum Fairy, you are naturally going to be "injury prone." And when you put this kind of stress on muscles, bones and ligaments that are *already* fatigued, unhealed, you get into an "injury cycle."

The Blazer schedule includes 82 performances. Some weeks it's a nightly grind, with a thousand or two miles to cover in between games. Road trips are surreal: "If it's Tuesday, this must be Boston." A Portland sportswriter who travelled with the Blazers recently found



Bill Walton is playing again with the skill, exuberance and joy that characterized his college career. As a result, the Portland Trail Blazers have a shot at the NBA championship.

himself exhausted after three days, and all he had to do was turn out four paragraphs a day! Postgame dinner at midnight, to sleep at three, to the airport at six, workout at 10, an afternoon nap, and then...you're looking at Kareem Abdul Jabbar. It's why you don't win much on the road. It's why, when you're playing injured, you don't really get well until the season's over.

►More trouble in second year.

Bill rested at the end of his first season just long enough to allow his body to heal and then began grueling daily training sessions that he thrived on. Frequently he devoted eight to ten hours a day to physical activity. He was in splendid condition until he broke his foot on a lawn sprinkler chasing a frisbee a week before training camp opened. His conditioning deteriorated while his foot was healing so that the injury cycle of his first NBA season repeated itself much of his second year.

A broken nose, wrist, foot and leg—along with several severely dislocated fingers—are only some of the injuries Bill suffered his first two years with the Blazers. One could safely say he played hurt most of the time. Federal Court Judge Robert Belloni sent a note to Bill saying, "The 'guts' you displayed by playing your heart out while in extreme pain was a real inspiration to a lot of young and old people alike."

Most Blazer fans were perceptive enough to appreciate Bill's effort, but few are aware of his incredible patience.

He never gave up hope, and now that he is able to concentrate all his energy on basketball while on the court, he is once again performing with skill, exuberance and joy that characterized his college career.

Bill hasn't been as politically active this season, compared to his first two years, since, not being injured, most of his time is taken up with basketball. But our whole household helped pull together a Jackson Browne benefit concert on Feb. 4 at the Paramount. The concert was a benefit for groups working to educate people about the dangers of the nuclear power industry. Bill has also been supporting the beleaguered teachers and students of Colegio Cesar Chavez, who are struggling to keep the federal government from foreclosing their college at Mt. Angel.

Bill's advocacy of causes isn't just a sideline with him—you see his values even on the basketball court. The way he and his teammates get it on—when they are at their best—shows what can happen when people work together in a selfless, cooperative manner. "I appreciate your insistence on the team—your deflection of praise from yourself to your teammates working as a unit," a fan wrote him after the 76ers game. "You handled the interview after last night's game marvelously—managing to mention the name of every other player on the team.... I like seeing you bring your politics to your workplace."

An earlier, longer version of this article appeared in the Oregon Times.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

A slap on the wrist for racists

The outcome of the Camp Pendleton incident, so far, (see page 7, and *ITT*, Jan. 5), is that ten black marines face court martial, while 12 white marines have been transferred from the base, and two discharged. The black marines are in danger of going off to jail; the white marines are free of further jeopardy or punishment and are even suing for damages.

Blacks must suffer the ordeal of court martial; while white racists get a gentle slap on the wrists.

Left and liberal anti-racists should be on the offensive, moving decisively against racism and for democratization in the armed services, in the wake of the Pendleton situation. Instead, they are once again on the defensive and, for all their sincere intent, good support efforts, and militant eloquence, are falling short of their political obligations.

Those obligations go beyond the necessary and important tasks of raising the outcry against racism and organizing in defense of the black defendants. They involve as well grasping the Camp Pendleton situation to organize a sustained effort at a comprehensive reordering of military policy and procedure suited to achieving racial equality and democratizing reforms in the armed services.

The Naval Investigative Services report provides added strength to an anti-racist offensive. It documents a pattern of organized illegal activity by racists at Camp Pendleton and other marine bases, including on-base and off-base harassment and assaults on black marines and civilians, arson, criminal tampering with automobiles with intent to injure or kill, and a general strategy to deny blacks their fundamental rights and the equal protection of the law.

More than this, the report demonstrates that the marine command, in denying, failing to act against, and then trying to cover up, this illegal organized racist activity, is culpable of dereliction of duty, if not felony, by virtue either of complicity or incompetence. Indeed, there is evidence suggesting that the company commander and battalion executive officer were involved in Klan activity in agreeing to use Klan members as a network of informers on black and politically progressive personnel.

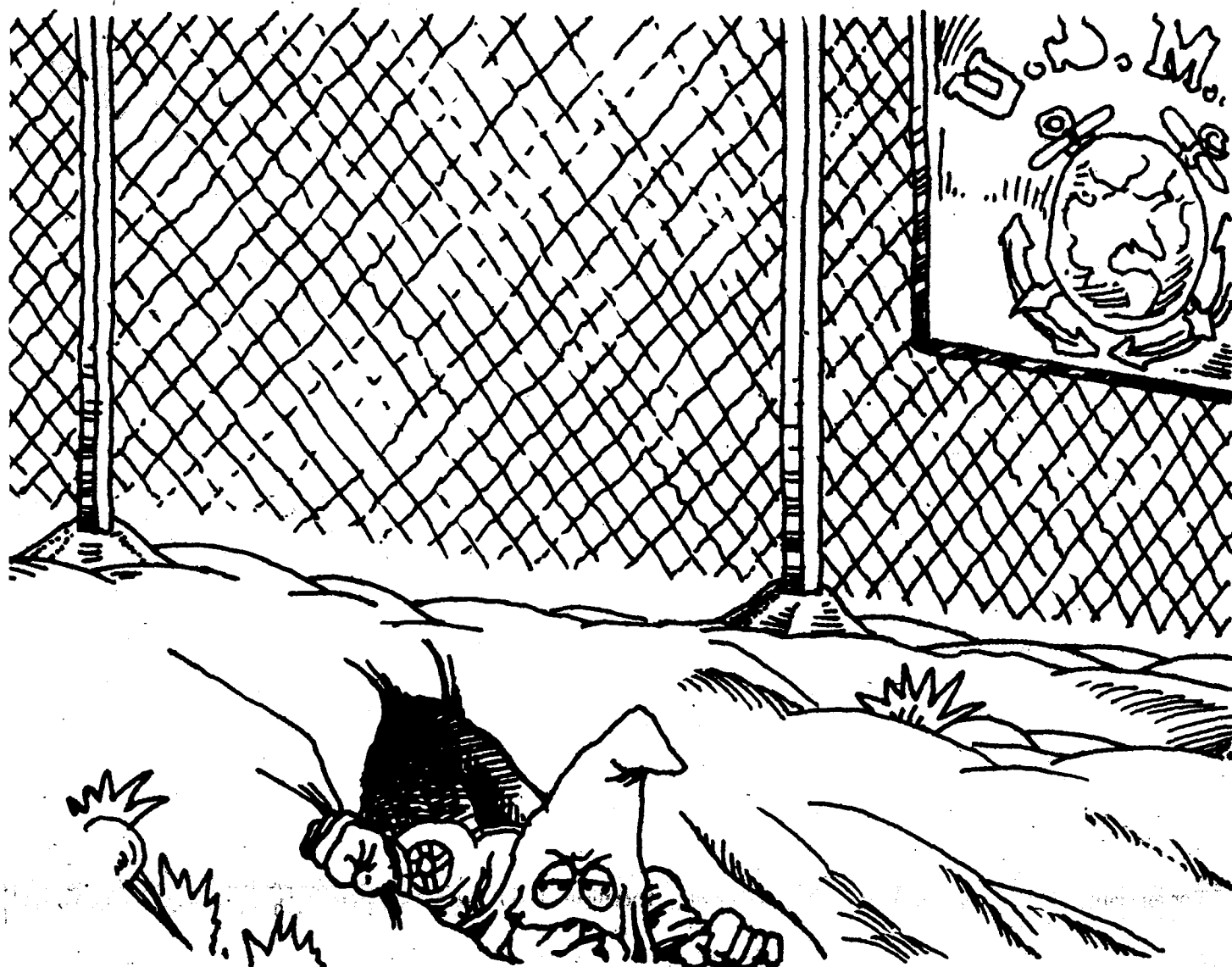
► Naval report not enough.

But the Naval report can not be relied upon to change things significantly. Its very title, "Racist Extremist/Dissident Group Activities," suggests an intent to abridge political rights of service personnel and otherwise to avoid any but the most superficial adjustments. It implies that illegal activities by racists, including officers, are in some way equivalent to altogether legal activities of "dissidents," though the latter are sanctioned by the 1971 order wrested from then Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and authorizing legal political activity by military personnel.

The report may foreshadow a move to use the Camp Pendleton affair to rescind political rights of service personnel under cover of being "fair" by putting an end to "extremist" political activity on the "right" and the "left."

The acts of the ten black defendants cannot be equated with the illegal racist activity to which they were responding. The black marines acted as victims of assault, intimidation, criminal conspiracy, and unequal treatment, to vindicate their rights and protect their lives and property, in the face of indifference or complicity by vested authority.

Most of the defendants grew up in the



The Camp Pendleton affair should become more than another in a long series of defenses against unequal treatment of blacks and their subjection to racial attacks . . . It should also signify the beginning of a movement to eradicate racism in the armed services.

South where officers of the law and politicians were in league with Klan and other racists in abridging blacks' right, assaulting and even murdering them with impunity. The Camp Pendleton situation is woven in the same pattern. They acted justifiably (however injudiciously) in vindicating their rights in the absence of protection by lawful military or civil authority. When people cannot rely upon lawful authority to protect their rights and persons, the authorities must be held responsible if they take the law into their own hands.

► The context.

The racist attacks on blacks' life and liberty at Camp Pendleton come in the context of an old pattern of unequal treatment. In 1974 61.5 percent of enlisted blacks were in the bottom three grades, as against only 31 percent of enlisted whites. One-third of all court-martial defendants and one-third of all military-prison inmates were black, even though blacks comprised only 16 percent of military personnel. Blacks received less-than-honorable discharges at twice the rate of whites.

Blacks comprised 18 percent of marine personnel generally and at Pendleton. Yet 26 percent of the combat units, and 23 percent of service and supply units were black, while only 10.3 percent and 5.4 percent of the equipment repair and electronics units were black.

Black military personnel, in other

words, are grossly underrepresented among officers, receive less training and fewer promotions, suffer more court-martials and imprisonment, and have a higher risk of death in combat.

► A movement to eradicate racism.

The Camp Pendleton affair should become more than another in the long series of defenses against unequal treatment of blacks and their subjection to racial attacks and undue legal process. It should also become a benchmark signifying the beginning of the movement to eradicate racism in the armed services and to democratize them. The one requires the other. We think left and liberal anti-racists should organize to see that the following steps are taken:

- The 12 transferred white marines should be brought back to Pendleton to stand trial for their illegal activities.

- All officers complicit in illegal racist activities by either overt act or dereliction of duty, should be brought to trial and, if guilty, punished.

- The American Civil Liberties Union should consider pressing for these two measures as vigorously as it is now aiding in the defense of the ten black marines. The trial and punishment of those violating civil rights are essential to the maintenance and strengthening of civil liberties.

- Congress should be pressed to open a full-scale investigation of racism in the armed services with a view to passing

stringent legislation guaranteeing full political rights of service personnel, equal treatment and opportunities, including substantially higher recruitment of blacks and members of other minorities into officer ranks.

- Among such legislation should be measures requiring all services to institute educational programs, as part of basic training, teaching principles of liberty and equality as essential to democracy and their defense and protection as the highest purpose of military service.

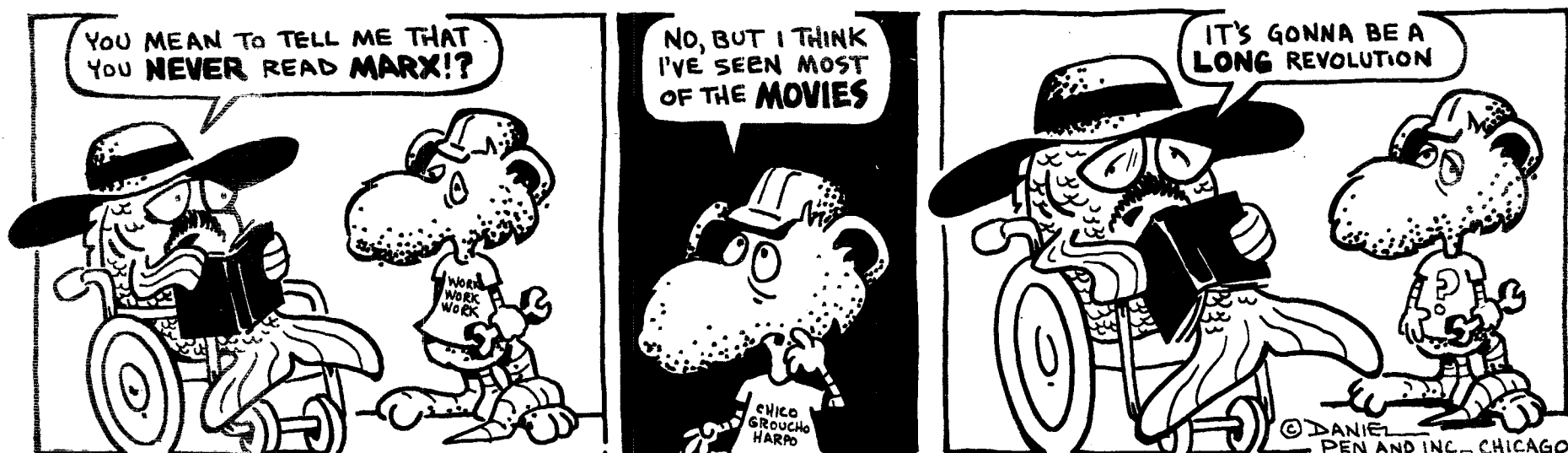
- Congress should be pressed to provide that officers that do not rigorously enforce racial equality or punish perpetrators of illegal racist activities be court-martialed or discharged. Culpable service secretaries should be replaced or impeached.

- Support should be given to, and Congress should be pressed to authorize, the organization of service personnel unions as a good way of bringing military people together across racial, ethnic and cultural lines, for common democratic purposes.

As we have stated before (*ITT*, Jan. 19), civil rights and civil liberties are indivisible.

People who would like to aid in the defense of the ten black defendants now facing court martial may write for information or send donations to The Camp Pendleton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 2235, Oceanside, Calif., 92054.

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS AND TROUTIGAN



Letters

Being a revolutionary means not being afraid to sign your name

Editor:

Revolutionists are not found on the safe and sunny side of the Rubicon, or in air-conditioned offices dashing off reformist essays. Revolution means risk, sacrifice, struggle, the CIA/FBI menace and threat of economic suicide, prison and even assassination. Revolution is a matter of life and death; it is not the idle pastime of duffers, dabblers, dilettantes and others who would defuse militancy and mislead the working class Carter-Meany style.

For an elaboration of what revolution is and is not, we recommend the works of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Trotsky.

—A revolutionary socialist
Cleveland, Ohio

Open letter to Mario Soares

Dr. Mario Soares
Office of the Prime Minister
Lisbon, Portugal

Dear Prime Minister,

We are astonished to learn that Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho and a large number of other officers are about to be indicted before a Court Martial, as a result of various accusations concerning their part in the events of November 1975.

As you know, we have for a long time felt that Major Carvalho and his colleagues should either be exonerated or brought to a fair trial. It seems to us that there has been an indefensible delay in deciding this matter, and that the position itself is quite unjustifiable. What possible reason can there be for allowing the military to adjudicate this matter? The allegations which have been made against Major Carvalho would normally be considered by a high civil court, if they were to be taken seriously enough.

We are bound to register our profound disquiet at this turn of events. It seems all too likely that Major Carvalho is to be the victim of vengeful pressures.

With our respect,

Yours sincerely,

—Ken Coates, Chris Farley

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

—Chris Goodey

Russell Committee for Portugal

—Ken Fleet

Institute for Workers' Control

—Audrey Wise, MP, Doug Hoyle, MP

Ron Thomas, MP, Martin Flannery, MP,

Syd Bidwell, MP, Jo Richardson, MP,

Oonagh MacDonald, MP, Russell Kerr, MP,

Eddie Layden, MP, Brian Sedgemore, MP,

Tom Litterick, MP,

Tony Topham, Raymond Williams

To the left of (Brezhnev)

Editor:

Pete Karman's letter supporting Roberta Lynch's criticisms of the DSOC actually contains the rationale for DSOC strategy. It is because American politics are retrograde and anti-socialist that DSOC advocates progressive reforms. DSOC claims to be socialist because its goal is a socialist society, not an advanced welfare state. Its strategy, however, is based on an analysis of political reality in the U.S., a reality that, as Karman indicates, is hardly receptive to socialism at the moment.

DSOC is, of course, to the left of Bismark and de Gaulle (and Brezhnev) precisely because it understands that nationalization without democratization is not socialism. The problem involved in advocating extensive nationalization is that it leaves the potential constituency for socialism behind. So DSOC supports the most progressive reforms it believes are possible—Those moving beyond liberalism and toward socialism. DSOC will "move to the left" whenever there is mass support for a more radical politics, support that DSOC will have helped to create.

—Greg Schirm
Philadelphia

The home team did better

Editor:

As a longtime student of India, I found your coverage of the Indian elections (*ITT*, April 6) very disappointing. Indira Gandhi's government was repressive and not in the best interests of the Indian people, but it is not at all clear that the Janata victory will be to their benefit either. Prime Minister Moraji Desai has represented the interests of the privileged for decades; it is difficult to see his government as at all progressive.

Your article was sorely lacking in analysis, and the little it contained was misleading. Jas Saund described Janata as comprised of "the old guard, the populists, the socialists and the small farmers," forgetting to mention the Hindu chauvinists, the merchants and the landlords.

Is a class analysis too much to expect from a newspaper that claims to provide an independent socialist perspective? What is the class composition of Janata's constituent parties? Who is in the second tier of leadership and to what power base are they responsible? What signs are there that the end of the emergency will result in effective organizing on the left? What is happening in traditionally militant areas of the country such as Bengal and Maharashtra? Are the left parties showing any disposition to build solidarity among themselves or working class unity across caste, linguistic or religious lines?

On the scene reporting isn't worth carrying if the reporter fails to frame the crucial questions. John Judis did better from a distance (*ITT*, March 30).

—Marion M. Barnes
Eugene, Ore.

Select company

Editor:

I sincerely hope that you make it through this critical period in your history. I am very selective in my news consumption; it might be something of a compliment for you to know that in addition to *ITT*, I read regularly only the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*.

Please accept a small contribution above my subscription. Best of luck!

—Howard H. Frederick
American Friends Service Committee
San Francisco

Childlike, petty, unworthy

Editor:

Two points about Barbara Ehrenreich's column "New Fashions" (*ITT*, April 6).

First, it sets my teeth on edge to see knowledgeable feminist women repeat old sexist myths as history. Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818-1894) did not "invent" or wear those baggy gym slacks so mislabeled "bloomers." Bloomer wore slacks which were originated by a sister reformer, Elizabeth Smith Miller.

Second, it also gripes me to see anyone, for any reason, advocate the thoughtless marking and defacing of library books. This is a child-like, petty, unworthy suggestion. Many, many libraries are operating on the edge as it is. Defacement of books would tend to encourage library management to cut back on buying of all material (including feminist) by demonstrating that certain cretins have no respect for the rights of others and the property of us all. For shame.

—G.D. Goodman
Hardinsburg, Ky.

More grass roots!

Editor:

Congratulations to David Moberg for a fine article on E.F. Shumacher (*ITT*, April 13). I agree with Moberg that Shumacher and some of his supporters are often politically naive and tend toward being overly moralistic. However, Moberg's other point, that the need for "intermediate technology," more emphasis on decentralization, etc., will be ignored at the peril of democratic socialists" is absolutely crucial!

It seems to me that the adherents of Shumacher and other grass roots movements are really dealing with the "democratic" part of what we call democratic socialism! Groups like National People's Action, the National Association of Neighborhoods, Active Communities Organizing Reforms Now (ACORN) and many others should be a regular part of *IN THESE TIMES*. We need their people and ideas on democracy and they need our socialist perspective.

In line with this, I want to point out that DSOC at its recent convention unanimously passed a resolution to work more closely with grass root constituency groups such as those I have mentioned. Unfortunately, *IN THESE*

TIMES' coverage of the convention failed to mention this or to report on the strong sentiment for it at the convention.

—Bob Groves
Philadelphia

Red baiting?

Editor:

Certain aspects of Dan Marschall's article on *Labor Today's* 15th anniversary (*ITT*, April 13) are inaccurate and misleading.

Labor Today draws support from a wide range of trade unionists, as I stated to Marschall. It is improper to single out any particular group or ideology as dominant. In fact to suggest that certain organizations play any role at all is to convince many, influenced by McCarthyism, that that particular group is dominant.

When asked what role Communists played in *Labor Today*, I replied that our policy is one of non-exclusion. We have supported efforts to remove anti-Communist clauses from union constitutions, and have argued that Communists, as well as many others, have a legitimate right to participate in the trade union movement. We are not particularly pro-Communist, but we feel that the labor movement must confront this civil liberties issue. The purges that swept the labor movement in the '50s resulted in thousands of persons being removed from union office undemocratically: more non-Communists than Communists suffered from this. And worse, the entire labor movement suffered a setback.

To single out Communists, while ignoring the fact that most *Labor Today* supporters are Baptists, Catholics, Democrats, Socialists, vegetarians, Rosecrucians or what-have-you, smacks to us of red-baiting. We would have expected that from the *Chicago Tribune*—but such biased coverage in flagrant contradiction to how we characterized ourselves in the interview is uncalled for from *ITT*.

—Jim Williams
Editor
Labor Today

Editor's note: First, Dan Marschall's article does not constitute red-baiting. Unlike 20 years ago, the mere mention of the Communist party does not invoke McCarthyist hysteria. Nor is it necessarily negative. Communists have played a long and honorable role in the labor movement, and the "network of trade union activists" mentioned in the article are a progressive force in many unions.

Second, Marschall conducted his own investigation apart from his interview with Williams. The statement in the article reflects his conclusions and makes it clear that Labor Today maintains its organizational independence.

We believe it is essential to be honest with our readers while being supportive of the efforts of groups like Labor Today. Honesty, in this context, means being open about political association.

More letters next page.

Inside view of work and its discontents

By Mike LaVelle

WAITING FOR THE EARTHQUAKE

By Lawrence Swain:

Little Brown & Co., Boston & Toronto, 1977, \$8.95

Two different worlds existed during the '60s. One—call it hippiedom, campus unrest, or whatever—moved largely under the umbrella of the anti-war and the civil rights movements and was the subject of much media attention. The other was and is the world of daily bread and daily struggle—the world of labor, of work and its discontents. Lawrence Swain, in his novel *Waiting for the Earthquake*, writes of that other world.

The title is misleading. It seems to play on our fascination with California as the land of fruits, nuts and impending earthquakes. But the scene is the San Francisco Post Office: "He looked up at the dingy, prisonlike building looming over him: above the employees' entrance some forgotten social realist of the WPA days had sculptured a ridiculously muscular manual laborer. What insanity, he wondered, what musty Stalinist fantasies had made the sculptor think that working at the Post Office was noble and heroic."

Eddie Dunaway, the protagonist of the novel, is the vice-president of a local postal workers union at the tail end of the '60s. Eddie's virtue, and his curse, is that he is a labor militant right out of the CIO '30s.

If you do not have the right to strike in 1977, if you work in a system where you are still spied upon and despised by your authoritarian bosses then for you it is still the '30s.

Lawrence Swain's novel is about an im-

minent and illegal strike of postal workers. All strikes by public employees are illegal, but they happen anyway. From 1950 to 1975 the amount of state, local and federal employees has increased from 4,093,000 to 12,023,000. Strikes by state workers have increased from two in 1961 to 490 in 1975 and they are still increasing.

The federal workers struck in 1970, and that strike is the setting of Swain's novel. Swain worked for the SFPO for eight years and his book gives us an inside look into the current militancy of public workers and the government response to that militancy.

"After a few seconds McGonigal found the right key, opened a door, and stepped into a dark black catwalk. He closed the door behind him and began to make his way quickly through the soundless darkness. Every few seconds he would stop and peer through one of the one-way peepholes. He found Eddie without too much trouble: the enclosed catwalks were a world he knew well, and the workroom floors on each of the five stories were worlds he knew even better. He had spent hours of his life, thousands of hours, looking down on them and watching everything that happened."

"He stood almost directly above Eddie Dunaway and watched him case letters. When Eddie got up at Breaktime McGonigal followed him in the catwalk, and when Eddie started talking to Richards he crossed quickly to a catwalk on the other side of the room, where he could see Eddie better and see what he was talking about. McGonigal had gotten very good at reading lips over the years and Eddie's were especially easy to read. Eddie was talking union business, and the conversation ended, as it frequently did these days, with talk of a strike."

Hugh McGonigal is in his 50s and is a postal inspector "solely responsible for security and investigations in postal facilities." It is a job that willingly laps over to a "them" and "us" paranoia. Them: not only Dunaway, but a host of subterranean devils, anarchists, hippies, dope addicts, free lovers, commies, and of course anti-Americans. Such perceptions naturally lead to responses in kind. Warp feeds warp, confusion, confusion, stir, mix, bubble and boil, and out of this strange soup the informer-mania is created. Often to the informer good or evil is irrelevant. Their faith, as it is, is faithlessness, they are ravagers of the heart, nihilists of the soul. To ascribe political motives to the informer might be giving them a virtue that they do not possess.

Jacob Nance is the same age (28) as Eddie Dunaway with a background in Army Intelligence and local law enforcement and at the time of Eddie's troubles, a postal inspector assigned to do his number on Eddie. Become his friend, soothe his loneliness, work next to him, become his buddy, sleep with his sister—and betray him.

Jacob reports on Eddie Dunaway. "He likes to read and write poetry. He thinks of himself as very sensitive, but actually he's just weak, at least too weak to do the kind of things he set out to do. He keeps trying to live up to the family tradition of radicalism, to uphold the family honor in the way they understood honor. But he won't be able to make it. The country isn't set up the way it used to be—I think he'll crack up."

Eddie Dunaway has much of the childlike innocence of Herman Melville's Billy Budd. Even Billy Budd's response to Claggart. Dunaway is a socialist who despises the student radicals of the '60s, at

least those event-radicals who intrude into the occasional labor conflicts with instant analysis and instructions and then leave in disgust upon failing to direct a local strike into a siege of the nearest Winter Palace. Dunaway explains that he is "amazed at the incredible arrogance of the students, expecting to come into the middle of a wildcat strike such as this and influence people they had never worked with, had no regular communication with, to whom they were in fact complete strangers."

I have heard that feeling expressed by striking workers before; I have expressed it myself. One incident sticks in my mind. In 1969 I had to dissuade a student radical from showing up at a local plant strike with her red flag contingent to "assist" us. It was difficult to convince her that the issue was money and not revolution. Even if the issue were something other than money the arrogance would still be offensive.

Perhaps it takes a certain amount of humility to listen rather than talk, to learn rather than teach, but in the final analysis all of us concerned with change ought to offer to those on the bottom of the economic heap, and even to those attempting a more democratic trade unionism, something more than our presence as "complete strangers." Lawrence Swain, from his inside perspective, gives us a chance to listen, and listening is at least part of what it is all about.

The American philosopher Alfred North Whitehead commented that "We think in generalities, but we live in detail." The "details" are what we need to know and why we need more Lawrence Swains.

Mike LaVelle is the "Blue Collar Views" columnist for the Chicago Tribune.



Where DSOC stands: A contribution to the discussion

By Ronald Radosh

Roberta Lynch's column, "Is DSOC on the right foot?" (*ITT*, April 6) makes certain substantive criticisms of DSOC that deserve a fuller discussion. Although Lynch acknowledges that old alignments are dissolving in the European socialist left, she seems to reject DSOC because it "comes out of a tradition of socialist anti-communism" that supposedly it can never discard; because it is affiliated with the Socialist International; because it sees its "main function as a loyal opposition within the Democratic party;" because it espouses only top-down organizing, and, finally, because it confuses socialism with reformist welfare statism.

DSOC has moved away from the tradition out of which it emerged. (Indeed, its very formation was a major break with that tradition.) Ironically, this change has been duly noted in a recent column by Carl Gershman, Executive Director of Social Democrats U.S.A., which appeared almost the same time as Lynch's piece, in the April issue of *New America*.

Gershman blasts Michael Harrington for taking a "lurch to the Left," for seeking a "working alliance with the New Left," for holding a joint meeting in New York with NAM whose "democratic credentials are highly suspect," for giving up his anti-Communism, for making "another important concession to the new left" when he told *IN THESE TIMES* that he supported the left-wing of the Socialist International; for "asserting the greater weight of ideology over

that of class interest" by which Gershman means that Harrington now favors "the sectarianism of leftist ideologues as against the [George Meany] class-based politics of the labor movement;" for taking the "extremist" view that the U.S. cannot have both guns and butter. Putting all this together, Gershman concludes that Harrington now stands "far to the left of where he once stood."

Unlike Lynch, Gershman—who does speak for the real voice of the old anti-Communist social-democrats—understands that Michael Harrington and DSOC are committed to socialism, and not to anti-Communist social democracy. Yet Lynch continues to condemn DSOC for the tradition from which it emerged. That is akin to someone from DSOC attacking NAM because some members of that group came from a tradition that identified socialism with the Soviet bloc countries.

Now of course there are some classic social-democrats in DSOC. But at least there are no self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninists who advocate a "vanguard" party that must prepare to move toward armed struggle. And while there indeed may be some members who favor Soares in Portugal, there are probably few who reveal the infantile variety of Third-Worldism that has been a major problem with the politics of much of the New Left since the mid-1960s.

A few years ago, Christopher Lasch noted effectively that Michael Harrington held the fallacious view that "the union movement in its present form already amounts to a secret social democracy." It is this view that Harrington has shed, (and that the Social Democrats U.S.A. still maintain). Harrington also used to argue, Lasch noted, that the labor movement could become socialist without adopting a socialist politics. His DSOC convention presentation made it clear he no longer argues this specious point.

DSOC, he told its convention, now sees itself as a "socialist wing of a mass democratic Left;" a Left that has to support "structural changes that go beyond liberalism." He noted the demise of the liberal ideology that tacitly accepts the

corporate domination of the economic infrastructure. It opposes the cold warriors, and seeks to present an agenda that could begin to move America "in a socialist direction," and that seeks to move the entire democratic Left "to a full socialist position."

Harrington's and DSOC's posture, indeed, is similar to that advanced by both John Judis and Alan Wolfe in their important article "American Politics at the Crossroads" (*Socialist Revolution*, no. 32) Judis and Wolfe note how the disintegration of cold war liberalism has provided new openings on both the Right and the Left. They conclude that if a socialist movement in the U.S. is ever to be built, "it will have to come about through the further political organizational development" of socialist tendencies within the existing mass anti-corporate movement, "as it takes root within the Democratic party, the labor unions, women's and minority organizations, and neighborhood and community organizations."

DSOC has precisely that understanding, set of goals and strategy—it advocates the type of tie to the mass movement that gave the 1940s Communist party its strength, while rejecting the CP's lack of advocacy of a conscious socialist position within the mass movement. While some of us started out with the early hope that NAM could become the catalyst for creation of a new socialist movement, reality has forced us to shed the illusion that such a task could be accomplished by merely calling for its creation. The movement away from social-democracy by DSOC members has created the grounds for a convergence that will allow us to work together effectively to bring socialism into the mainstream. I fear that Lynch's sectarian attack will hinder a new and necessary unity.

Roberta Lynch responds:

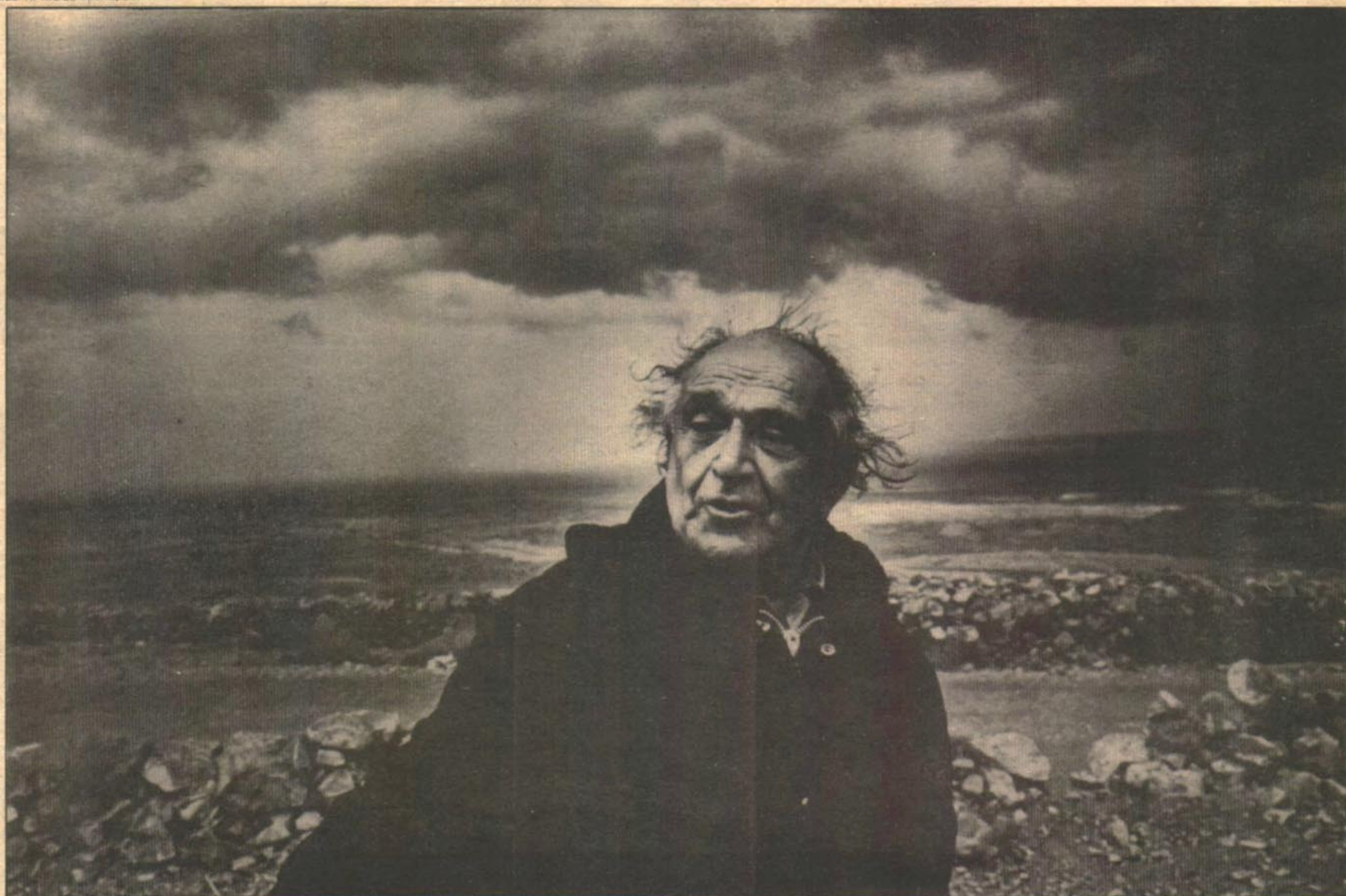
I find none of Radosh's arguments compelling in dealing with the substantive issues that I raised, but these questions will ultimately be answered only in the course of DSOC's further development.

What disturbs me about the response of Radosh and other critics of the column is their common accusation of "sectarianism." Frankly, this surprises me. I wrote the column to raise questions that I thought were not being seriously addressed in some quarters. My purpose was twofold: to acknowledge that changes have taken place within the DSOC and to urge that those who consider themselves to its left be more open to joint work, political dialogue, etc.; and to point up the political ambiguities that surround DSOC that we (those who are part of a political tendency with which NAM identifies) should be clear about in pursuing such dialogue.

I did not attempt to write DSOC out of the left, to engage in rhetorical name-calling, to distort DSOC's positions, or to urge others to isolate it. What then constitutes "sectarianism?" Is it simply criticizing or raising political questions? This seems to me mistaken. If the right to make such criticisms is to be sacrificed in the name of non-sectarianism, we will quickly be left with a unity that is based not on honest political interaction, but on opportunism.

In addition, Radosh's jabs at "Third-Worldism" or Al Hart's complaints about NAM's "irrelevance" are indicative of a strange double standard: It's fine to sharply criticize those on our left, but when it comes to groups on our right an uneasy silence should prevail. I disagree with this approach. Sectarianism, in my view, has little to do with frank and comradely criticism of those with whom we disagree. It has to do much more with an unwillingness to work in an open manner and on a common basis with those with whom we disagree. I tried to make clear in writing the column that I was not advocating such a course, but rather saw interaction with the DSOC as positive.

Sectarianism, dogmatism, and the isolation from mass trends that they produce are among the more significant problems that the left faces today. But finding solutions to them is not aided by facile use of the terms to describe the open discussion of political differences.



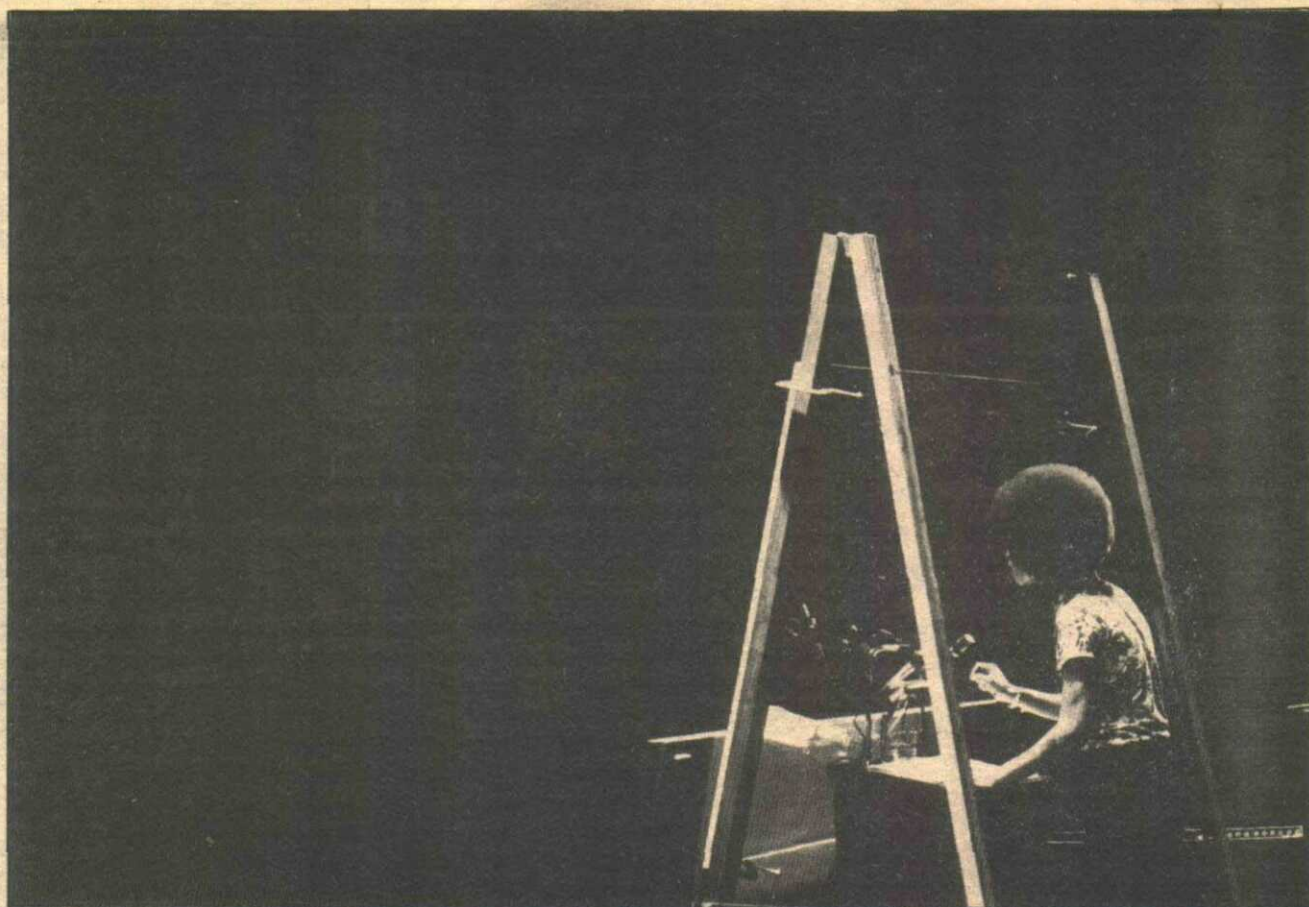
"Yahudi Almog." Archie Lieberman, c. 1965.



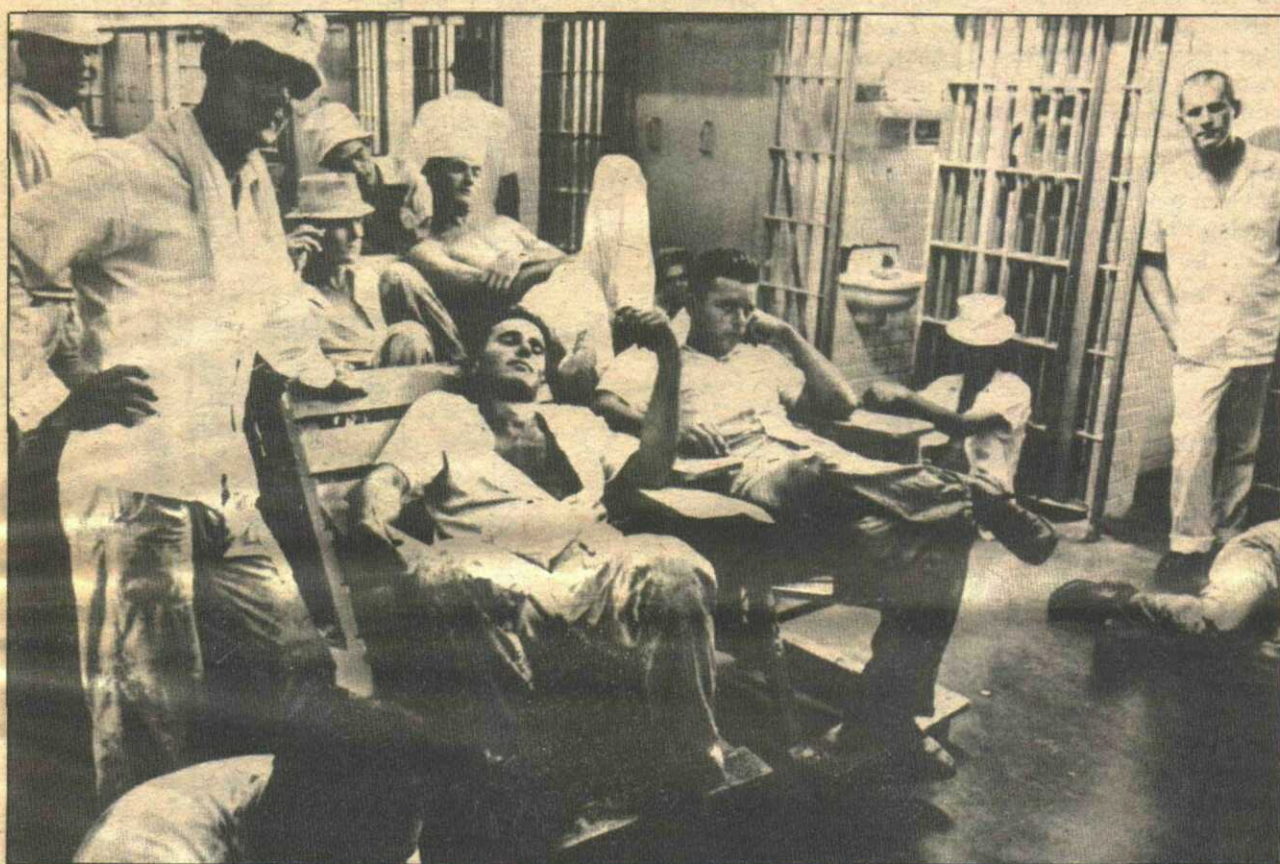
"Monrow, North Carolina." Norris McManara, 1963.

A Tribute

IN THESE TIMES salutes five socially concerned photographers whose work is currently being exhibited at the Allan Frumkin Gallery in Chicago through May 20. Shown are selections from five outstanding Chicago photo-journalists whose work grew out of the upheavals of the '60s. All have been published widely—in books newspapers and magazines, such as LOOK, LIFE, and NEWSWEEK. Norris McNamara and P. Michael O'Sullivan have published in IN THESE TIMES. Paul Sequeira is a regular contributor.



"Angela Davis speaking from behind bulletproof shield." Paul Sequeira, 1971.



"Six wing cell block in Ramsey, Texas." Danny Lyon, 1968.



"Derry." P. Michael O'Sullivan, 1969.

SPORTS

Fearless forecasts for NBA playoffs

It's playoff time in the National Basketball Association, a very special time of the year for those who follow the sport. The winning percentages teams accumulated during the regular season mean little now; experience, momentum, depth, and an absence of serious injuries are the key factors (along with talent!) in a short playoff series.

This will be a particularly difficult series to predict because it's the first year after the NBA-ABA merger, but your sportswriter, never one to be humble, will try to wade through the maze of teams and players and pick this year's champion.

If readers are wary of risking their savings and reputations on my forecast, let me present my credentials—I was one of the few knowledgeable basketball fans in New York to pick the Golden State Warriors to win the championship in 1975. Now that you're suitably impressed, I'll put my credibility squarely on the line and see if I can come up with a winner.

Western Division (winning percentages as of April 7)

Los Angeles, .646; Denver, .615; Portland, .588; Golden State, .550; Detroit, .532; Chicago, .525.

In this division, Los Angeles is the team to beat. Kareem Jabbar is playing the

The teams to beat: Los Angeles in the Western Division and Philadelphia in the Eastern Division.

best ball of his life and the backcourt of Lucious Allen and Don Chaney, spelled by standout rookie Earl Tatum, is very solid. The forwards on the Lakers are suspect, but this will not affect them against most teams because Kareem is such a dominating factor.

In my judgment, the only teams in the Western Division that have a chance of beating Los Angeles are Chicago and Portland. Chicago has been the hottest team in the NBA during the last part of the season, winning 14 out of 15 games during one stretch. Their center, Artis Gilmore, is capable of playing Kareem almost even on any given day, and the rest of their team matches up well with Los Angeles. Their main problem is inexperience. Of their starting five, only Norm

Van Lier is a playoff veteran and much of their offensive has been carried by two rookies, Wilbur Holland and Scott May. They could fold under playoff pressure.

The Portland Trail Blazers pose a somewhat stronger threat. Their center, Bill Walton, is the only big man in the league who approaches Kareem in all-around ability, and their power forward, Maurice Lucas, is far superior to anyone the Lakers can field. Their backcourt is weaker than Los Angeles' but they have a better bench. Their big problem is Walton's health. The big red-head has missed almost 20 games because of leg injuries and this reporter questions whether he can survive the long playoff grind without reinjuring himself. Without Walton in the line up, the Trail Blazers can't win.

Other teams in the division should not challenge the Lakers. The Golden State Warriors have excellent young guards, but are weak at center and depend on an aging Rick Barry to carry the offense. The Detroit Pistons started the season with a powerful squad, but have been severely handicapped by injuries to Bob Lanier and Marvin Barnes. And the Denver Rockets, who have great forwards in David Thompson and Bobby Jones are very weak at the guard positions and lack a strong, rebounding center.

After careful consideration, your reporter picks Los Angeles to win the division, with Portland a dark horse if Walton stays healthy.

Eastern Division

Philadelphia, .620; Houston, .613; Washington, .588; San Antonio, .550; Cleveland, .532; Boston, .519.

Despite much publicized internal dissension, Philadelphia is the team to beat in this division. They have awesome strength at forward with Julius Erving and George McGinnis, and two of the best guards in the League in Doug Collins and Lloyd Free. But their greatest as-

(Continued on next page.)

Refs on strike deserve our support

It's an axiom of professional sports that everybody hates the refs. As the symbol of order and authority on the playing field, referees come in for an extraordinary amount of abuse from players, fans and the press. Sometimes they court this anger by flaunting their power in an arbitrary manner; but most of the time, they're merely the most convenient targets for the rage of people who have a lot at stake—psychologically or financially—in the outcome of the game. Cursing the ref is like cursing fate—only easier, because the target is very human, very visible and very flawed.

Most referees accept this hostility as the price they have to pay for practicing their profession, and take pride in their ability to withstand the pressure.

What they find harder to accept is that while players, aided by a strong union and ambitious agents, have won huge salary increases and improved pension plans, referees have gained little from the growing profitability of professional sports.

In the National Basketball Association the average player's salary is now \$107,000 a year, but referees' salaries range between \$18,000 and \$35,000.

This year the refs finally got fed up. After a long and futile effort to win the right to bargain collectively with NBA officials they followed the example of the players associations in baseball and football and called a strike to coincide with the beginning of the NBA playoffs. Of the 27 NBA referees, 25 joined in the action, which took effect April 12.

NBA officials refused to modify their stand against renegotiating the referees' contracts, insisting that they would continue to bargain individually with the refs until the National Labor Relations Board declared the referees association was a legitimate union and set up an election. They recruited referees from the Eastern League to take the strikers' places and insisted that the playoff would go on as scheduled.

As of this moment (April 12), the NLRB is still studying the matter and will announce a decision shortly. The referees are picketing the playoffs, but are unlikely to stop the games from going on.

The role of the NBA Players Associ-

ation in this affair has hardly been a model of solidarity. The Association has remained neutral in the dispute and individual players seem determined to cross the picket lines when the games begin. There were rumors that Bill Walton would refuse to play as a gesture of support, but he seems to have changed his mind.

The indifference of players to the referees' situation is yet another indication of the selfishness and individualism of many professional athletes (perhaps symbolized by the refusal of the New York Yankees to vote any World Series money to their bat-boys). It's true that there is a built-in antagonism between referees and players, exacerbated in the NBA by differences in height, age and race. Most of the players are black, while the majority of the refs are white, and there have been accusations of racism leveled against some officials.

But that's still no excuse for the callous indifference players have displayed toward people who make one-fifth of their salaries. Sure, refs make mistakes, and some of them act like martinis, but the game could no more do without them than it could without the players.

If the players don't realize this, other people involved in the sport do. Many sports columnist around the country have supported the referees' action and have written eloquent articles endorsing their demands.

It's time for fans to also take a stand. There's probably no effective way to boycott the games since tickets for the playoffs have already been sold, but people should send letters and telegrams supporting the strike to NBA officials and the CBS/sportscasters covering the games. Communications should be sent to:

Lawrence O'Brien
Commissioner
National Basketball Association
2 Pennsylvania Plaza
New York, NY 10001

and

CBS Sports
51 W. 52nd Street
New York, NY 10020

—Mark Naison

Mark Naison lives in Brooklyn and helps coordinate In These Times' sports coverage.



U.S.-South Africa Davis Cup matches protested

Newport Beach, Ca. The North American Davis Cup Zone Finals between the United States and South Africa were played in Newport Beach, Calif., April 15-17. On Saturday, April 16, several hundred demonstrators lined the street outside the fenced-in Newport Beach club calling for an end to the matches between the U.S. and South African teams.

While the demonstration was peaceful—as organizers had intended—in a separate action Rev. Alvin Dortch of the Church of Survival and a board member of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression along with a second man, Deacon Alexander, from the same organization made their way on to the tennis court. There Dortch poured a milk container filled with motor oil onto the playing surface of the court. As a result, the game had to be delayed about one hour.

Tony Trabert, coach of the U.S. team, became so angered at the 29-year-old min-

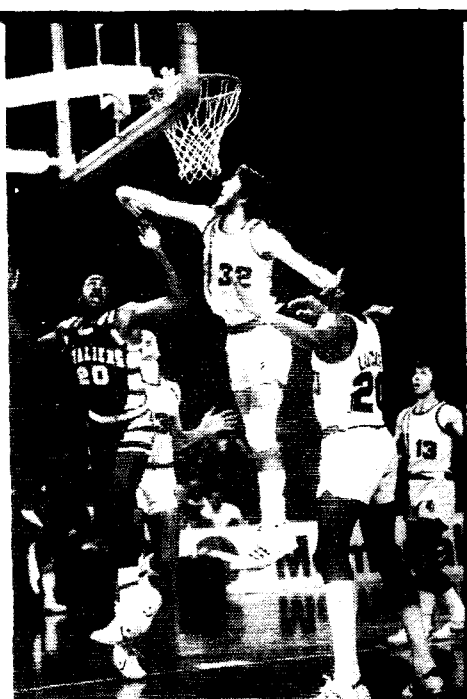
ister that he began striking him with his racquet until Newport Beach police moved in to arrest the two protesters. Trabert received loud applause from some of the 6,000-plus all-white spectators.

Municipal Court Judge Selim S. Franklin, presiding judge of the Harbor Judicial District, placed an unusually high bond of \$5,000 each on Dortch and Alexander, charged with trespassing and malicious mischief.

The larger demonstration by the Committee to Stop the United States/South African Tennis Match received wide support, which included Los Angeles city councilmen Robert Farrel and David Cunningham, assemblywomen Maxine Waters and Theresa Hughes, Lt. Gov. Merv Dymally and Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenny Hahn.

—Nareshimah Osei

Nareshimah Osei is a photographer and writer in the Los Angeles area.



Ancil Nance

NBA

(Continued from previous page.)

sets in the playoffs are their tremendous depth and Dr. J's unique ability to take command of a game. In last year's ABA championships, Irving put on the greatest individual performance in the history of professional basketball, making an incredible array of shots at crucial moments in game after game. If the other Philadelphia players have enough sense to give him the ball when they're in trouble (admittedly a big question mark) the 76ers should win it all.

The teams most likely to challenge them are Boston and Houston. Boston is a team with a winning tradition and great strength at center and the guards. But their bench is very weak and their newly acquired forwards, Curtis Rowe and Sidney Wicks, have not blended in effectively with the rest of the club. Unless John Havlicek (age 37) has a strong playoff series and Charlie Scott, just recovered from an injury, reaches mid-season form, the Celtics could be eliminated early.

Houston could give Philadelphia more trouble. They have tremendous strength at forward and guard and are the only team in the division that can match the 76ers in depth and team speed. Their major drawback is inexperience; the team leader, John Lucas, is a rookie, and none of their other players have gone beyond the first round of the playoffs. They could fold under the pressure. But if they get a few early wins and pick up confidence, they can play with anybody.

The other teams in the division are likely to have difficulty. Cleveland and San Antonio lack the power at the forward and center positions to play even with the 76ers, but Washington could be another story. They have great veteran players in Elvin Hayes, Wes Unseld, Dave Bing and Phil Chenier, but they may lack the bench strength and team speed to keep up with a running club. Unless their rookies have tremendous series, I seriously doubt whether they could beat a team like the 76ers that more than matches them in talent and experience and has far greater team depth.

The Finals

This reporter predicts a final series between Los Angeles and Philadelphia, with the 76ers winning in six games. Philadelphia's greater balance, depth and team strength should wear the Lakers down, and compensate for the dominance of Kareem Jabbar at center.

—Mark Naison

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Posthumous Hemingway novel makes fine but disturbing film

ISLANDS IN THE STREAM

Screenplay by Denne Bart Pettilerc,
from a novel by Ernest Hemingway
Directed by Franklin J. Schaffner
Produced by Peter Bart and Max Palevsky,
Paramount release, rated PG

Islands in the Stream, based on a posthumously edited book by Ernest Hemingway, came as a complete surprise. It is a film about feelings, about the price we pay when we deny our emotional needs and come to believe in the protective postures we maintain against the world.

Introspective and imbued with real sensitivity, it is not a film for everyone. It is difficult to keep oneself open to so much emotion. I walked for a long time after I left the theater wondering whether the tears I had shed were to be trusted. Some people do not want to be disturbed, which may be why the film has received so many poor notices from reviewers.

George C. Scott is Thomas Hudson, a successful sculptor, living on a Bahaman island, isolated from the modern world and personal entanglements. He thinks he is down to basics—his

art, his feeling for nature, his personal independence. Scott's performance, under the direction of Frank J. Schaffner, is quiet and restrained, with an underlying power which raises the film above what might have been a story of the romantic regrets of a man no longer able to fulfill his own machistic vision of himself.

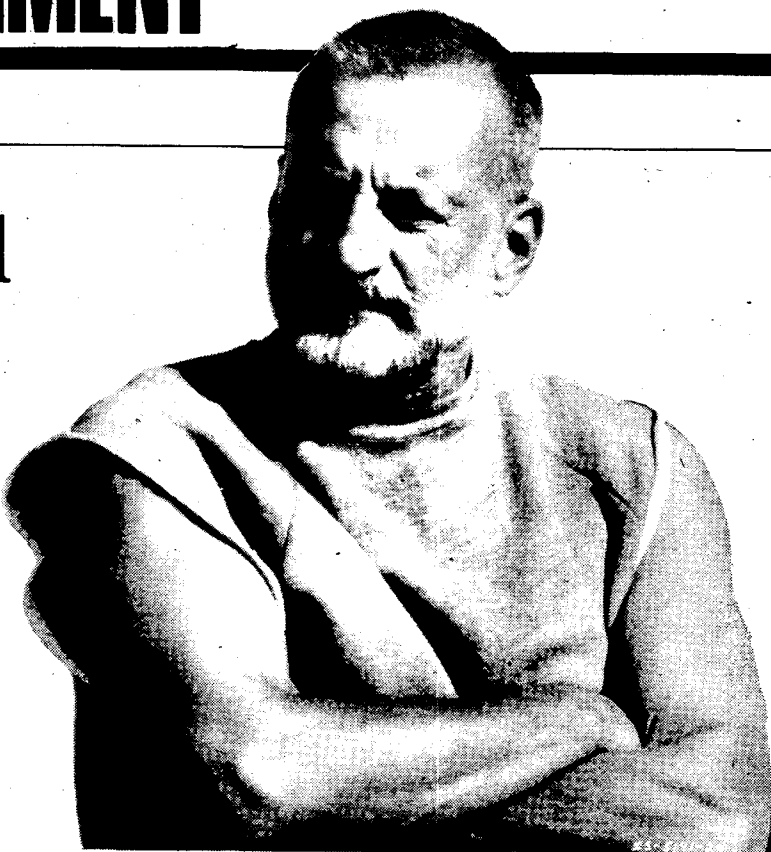
Islands is divided into three segments subtitled *The Boys*, *The Woman*, and *The Journey*. In each Tom explores a different aspect of his attitudes and the way he has lived his life. Through his changing perception and appreciation of the people from whom he has separated himself he is able to reassess his values.

The Boys opens with the impending arrival of Hudson's sons by two broken marriages. The time is circa 1940. Merchant ships, attacked by German subs, burn on the horizon. Jews, smuggled to uncertain haven, arrive in the harbor. World War II is coming nearer. Tom can keep the world away, but his feelings about the sons he has not seen for four years are very disturbing.

The movie could have broken down into maudlin sentimentality

here. Instead the macho mystique is penetrated by one son after the other, starting with the youngest—a boy with an unabashed need to love and be loved, impressively played by Michael-James Wixted. There is a marlin fishing scene with the middle boy, which is unbearable at times, but gave me my first insight into the depth of a sportsman's thrill and personal involvement in the "battle." In another vivid sequence the boys act out their resentment of their father's unwillingness to admit them into his feelings. They draw him into a pillow fight that ends up in flying feathers and emotions. It sounds corny to put into words, but in the film it is very affecting. All through *Islands* actions take the place of words (a ground rule of good film making) allowing the audience access to their own feelings.

The attitudes explored in *The Woman* have been pretty well flogged by women's lib. But Clare Bloom brings an economy to the part of Tom's first wife that is as beautiful as she is. The film makers manage to keep this section fresh enough to be effective.



There are still plenty of people who think that only by being in total control can they keep their personalities intact.

The last segment, *The Journey*, finds Tom breaking out of his emotional prison, acting out of altruism rather than the need for power. I wish it had been possible to keep him alive in the process, but I guess that was the old romantic in Hemingway. He really denied the coexistence of vulnerability and survival. The flash forward scenes of how the dying Hudson, in the light of his new awareness, would have liked his life to have been are the weakest parts of the film.

Scott is supported by some splendid performances. David Hemmings as the weak rummy side-kick, Julius Harris as the friend/servant, Suzanne Tyrell as the casual bedfellow, all help create the antique atmosphere of the island. Fred Koenekamp's photography of the scenery and the sea make both active participants in the story.

Islands in the Stream is a drama of emotional priorities, but never a melodrama.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor working in New York and the regular film reviewer of *In These Times*.

Is the cinema of stupefaction what audiences want?

BLACK SUNDAY

Directed by John Frankenheimer
Starring Bruce Dern, Marthe Keller and Robert Shaw
Produced by Robert Evans for Paramount

Black Sunday is advertised as "taut, profound, compelling entertainment."

It has neither heart, soul nor integrity. Produced by Robert Evans (*Marathon Man*) and directed by John Frankenheimer (*The Manchurian Candidate*, *French Connection II*), this is the cinema of stupefaction, its success assured by the large number of highly contrived, graphically violent scenes that are the Bob Evans touch—the sort of film the

audience is supposed to react to viscerally.

The scenario involves the audience with 82,000 Super Bowl fans, threatened by a Goodyear Blimp carrying an explosive device that contains 225,000 fleshettes (metal darts perfected by the U.S. Army in Vietnam and guaranteed to kill anything within a pre-calculated radius). The blimp is flown by two fanatics who seek revenge for all the pain inflicted on them in their personal and political lives.

Daliah Eyad (Marthe Keller) is a Palestinian refugee, a member of Black September. Mike Landner (Bruce Dern) is a former Navy pilot, cashiered from the service

after six years as a POW in North Vietnam. His wife has left him for another Navy man; his country has turned away from him, pushing him into a vortex of self-loathing that generates the desire to "give back what the country has taken away." And what better place to do that than the Super Bowl where complacent America sits, "sucking on its Coke and two weenies!"

The terrorists are pursued until the final seconds of the film by the FBI and a member of the Israeli Secret Service (Robert Shaw). The heroic Israeli tethers the blimp by a grappling hook to a helicopter that tows it away to explode harmlessly over the oc-

ean. The superman hangs by the helicopter lines, swinging freely toward land and home. The Super Bowl herd—and the audience—sigh in relief. Both will survive to see other movies and other football games.

The audience is expected to experience *Black Sunday* by identifying with the threatened stadium crowd, sharing their feeling of helplessness, their fate dependent on a set of super-agents triumphing over a set of super-foes. We are presented with multiple visions of death. (I have never seen so many bullets passing through bodies in such contrived ways.) The characters ramble across a landscape devoid of any

life or vitality. *Black Sunday* is anti-life.

It was meant to be this way, perfectly executed by an assemblage of highly competent actors and technicians, because Evans has supposedly heard what America is asking for. Audiences will have to decide whether he will continue to create films like this in the future. The only comments I heard in the dark of the theater were a mother saying to her two little tykes, "Wasn't that exciting?" and a kid saying to his companion, "You'll never get me to a Super Bowl."

—Joe Heumann



DANCE

Feminist dance group from Eugene explores women's unwritten history

Wallflower Order is a six-woman feminist dance collective touring the U.S. Their show, "Collections for Her Story," is a series of short dances that explore women's experience in life, history and fantasy.

The dancers blend ballet, jazz and modern dance to produce images of wonderfully muscular women, of women caring for each other, women working together, and also of women competing, fearful, and weighed down by media images. They break what often seems an unwritten dance taboo: the women lift each other, they fall, catch, carry and touch often. Most of

the dances are about interaction among women.

The music is a blend of recordings and live drum, guitar and dulcimer by the non-dancing members of the group. They also have some numbers set to poems. In one, a lone dancer whose limbs seem to jerk helplessly to the racket of machinery, speaks lines from a poem by Marge Piercy as she moves. The effect is powerful.

There is no difference between being raped and being run over by a truck except that afterwards men ask you if you enjoyed it

Wallflower Order integrates speaking into the dance. In "Sis-

ters" two women dance warm, playful movements, evoking childhood while others sit on the sidelines reminiscing about growing up with their sisters.

Although a few numbers tread a thin line between satirizing roles women are forced to play and making fun of women (e.g., the one mocking beauty queens) the show as a whole is exhilarating. The tour, which began in Eugene, Ore., the group's home base, has already covered half the width of the country and will continue through Ohio, New York and New England, winding up in Washington, D.C., the last week in May.

—Judy MacLean

BOOKS

Four Corners seen from many angles and in great depth

THE VANISHING WHITE MAN
By Stan Steiner
Harper & Row, New York, \$10.95

It is estimated that between 90 and 95 percent of the essential raw materials remaining in the U.S. are located on Indian land. Accelerated development of these resources—especially energy resources—is affecting native peoples with an intensity their grandparents could never have imagined.

The Vanishing White Man begins with the case of the massive Four Corners strip mining and generating project built on lands of the Navajo and Hopi in New Mexico. These are people Stan Steiner knows with an intimacy unusual for one not native to them. His account of the theft of Indian land for the energy potential lying beneath it, is a classic.

If that had been all the book attempted, it would be an important and moving work, but not the remarkable one that it is. For Steiner proceeds from the specifics of coal mining and power generating to far deeper questions of energy itself: what it is, where it comes from, how it is consumed and how preserved.

His book goes from the particulars of the Four Corners project to the history of the current energy policy of the U.S.; from the challenge native peoples have raised to the present-day development of that policy back in time to examine what tribal and natural peoples have long understood about the function of energy in their cultures and economies.

Steiner then turns his attention to native Americans' white neighbors, whose ranches and towns sit astride the same coal deposits and who are beginning to understand the past in the light of their present feeling of being themselves "treated like Indians." The author leaps forward in time to envision a not-so-distant future of filth-shrouded, resource-gobbling cities and a sacrificed rural

America where over-used rivers run dry, once-clear air hangs heavy with particulates from hundreds of power plant chimneys, and webs of highways, pipelines and transmission lines wrap a torn and shredded landscape. Then a leap backward to look at the history of Europeans on this continent, the ideology of arrogance that has informed their actions and the role played by the sexist culture of European patriarchies in that history.

The book moves in many directions and touches on many questions, always coming back to the central one: how people live, how we understand ourselves living in the natural world. There is purpose in this wide-ranging design: first, to join the separate issues of resource development and native American sovereignty to the myriad other questions they raise, and further, to teach us something about how to understand these problems.

To Stan Steiner the unsupported personal testament of traditional Ogalala activist, Grace Black Elk (one of the women who were the backbone of the Wounded Knee occupation in 1873) is as valid and necessary to our learning as hard data on how many million acre-feet of non-existent Colorado River water have been allocated by government agencies.

He draws from both rational and non-rational knowledge, from the traditions and creation myths of native peoples and from the "verifiable" information of modern science. The result is neither a Domsday Book nor a rip-off of Indian spirituality. Steiner has found a path between those possibilities and managed to avoid the trap of an easy fatalism. He has put together in a mosaic that is his own, a vision we can share.

—Jonny Lerner

Jonny Lerner was one of the editors of *Voices from Wounded Knee* and is working on a book to be published by Akwesasne Notes.

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MUSIC

Robinson resurgent after blacklist blackout

In 1940 the Republican party was getting ready to nominate Wendell (One World) Wilkie to run against Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. The Philadelphia convention needed some cultural pizzazz, something more inspirational than Kate Smith and the Legion Band rendering *God Bless America*. So the program committee asked Paul Robeson to sing the role he had made famous in the dramatic cantata *Ballad for Americans* by composer Earl Robinson and lyricist John Latouche.

Robeson turned them down. He was singing the *Ballad* in New York's Lewisohn Stadium on the night in question to the sort of mass audience he found more congenial. There were speculations in the press that he wouldn't have sung for the GOP in any case. The *New Yorker* printed a "Talk of the Town" item to the effect that neither Robinson nor Latouche was particularly flattered at the GOP invitation. Latouche was quoted as saying, "We wrote the *Ballad* for all Americans, not just for Republicans," with Robinson adding, "Especially not just for Republicans."

But the Republicans had it on their program anyway. They got Ray Middleton, a musical comedy star of the period, to sing the Robeson part. It is (and was) after all a free country where you can buy what you can pay for.

Later that same convention season, the *Ballad* was sung at the Communist party convention.

Throughout the '40s the names of Robinson and Robeson were associated with a flourishing democratic musical culture. CBS sold millions of record sets of *Ballad*, which became a sort of unofficial national anthem. Robeson also recorded Robinson's smash hit *Joe Hill* (lyrics by Alfred Hayes) and frequently sang in concert Robinson's *Free and Equal Blues* (lyrics by E.Y. Harburg.)

Robinson was also writing successful longer works in this period. His *The House I Live In* (lyrics by Lewis Allan) was made into a short film featuring Frank

Throughout the '40s Ballad for Americans was a sort of unofficial national anthem...

Sinatra. And his major choral work, *The Lonesome Train*, a *Lincoln Cantata* (lyrics by Millard Lampell) was sung over every major network as part of the national mourning for FDR.

But by the 1950s the blacklist had removed Robinson and most of his lyricists from view and hearing by the American public. Paul Robeson had his passport revoked, spent eight years in virtual house arrest, and finally left the country to live and work in England.

A generation grew up who knew Paul Robeson only vaguely as a great singer of black spirituals and *Old Man River*, and who never heard of Earl Robinson or any of his music—except perhaps *Joe Hill*, which was considered a folk song—i.e., without authorship.

Then on July 4, 1976, *Ballad for Americans* was performed as the climax of a Bicentennial concert by the Los Angeles Philharmonic in the Hollywood Bowl. An overflow crowd of 19,000 was on its feet cheering at the end of the cantata. A few may have remembered the last time *Ballad* was sung in the Bowl (on the night of its world premiere), but most had never heard it before. The enthusiasm was so universal and so sustained that conductor Zubin Mehta called the composer to the platform,



and Robinson received a standing ovation.

Of the three men who had stood in the same spot taking bows for the *Ballad* in 1940, only Robinson remains. John Latouche died during the '60s, and Paul Robeson in January 1976.

But Earl Robinson is, as he puts it, "resurgent."

He has written several successful songs in the last few years, including *Hurry Sundown* (lyrics by E.Y. Harburg) and *Black and White* (lyrics by David Arkin). The latter was recorded by Three Dog Night and has sold over a million copies as a single.

No mean performer in his own right, Robinson has been touring the country giving lecture-concerts. At the time of Paul Robeson's death he appeared in ten memorial concerts in this country and an eleventh in Athens.

Since then Robinson has been acting as narrator for orchestral performances of a recently completed Chinook Cantata, *Ride the Wind*, which is dedicated to retired Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. *Ride the Wind* has been incorporated into a new opera, called *Washington Love Story*, which is soon to be premiered. And Robinson is already at work on another—one to be based on the life of the Armenian folk hero, David of Sassoun.

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A Green Light for Lobotomies



State and Mind

Women suffering anxiety and depression at the loss of family, youth and career opportunities constitute the majority of psychosurgery patients today.

By Lani Silver and Elyse Eisenberg
Pacific News Service

Washington, D.C. A congressionally mandated national commission has urged the federal government to "conduct and support research" on psychosurgery, or lobotomy—the controversial surgical destruction of brain tissue for the purpose of altering behavior. The 11-member commission also proposes guidelines for performing psychosurgery on institutionalized mental patients, prisoners and children.

Minimizing concerns raised in recent years about the safety, morality and efficacy of psychosurgery, the commission declares the technique "has potential merit and...the risks are not excessive, despite the fact that the results of specific procedures have not been completely validated."

The National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research was appointed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1974 to study the hotly debated topic. Composed of mental health and legal experts, the commission sent its recommendations to HEW Secretary Joseph Califano in March. Among the major recommendations:

- Psychosurgery should be performed only at institutions with HEW-approved review boards. These panels of experts would be charged with assuring the competence of surgeons performing the operations and with determining that the surgery is appropriate for each patient. They would also guarantee that "informed consent" to the surgery is given by each patient.

- Psychosurgery on children, prisoners and involuntarily confined mental patients should be performed only after informed consent is given by the patient or—if in-

competent or underage—the patient's legal guardian or parents. A court must also review all such cases.

- HEW should maintain a national information center of psychosurgery for the purpose of assessing the safety and value of the procedure.

- Institutions not complying with HEW guidelines should be denied federal funding.

►An experiment, not a therapy.

While some 50,000 psychosurgeries were performed in the U.S. during the 1940s and '50s, the number has dwindled to about 500 a year today, largely due to the public outcry raised against the practice.

Critics of psychosurgery say the major impact of the commission report is that it legitimizes the procedure as an approved therapy, as opposed to an experimental technique.

The recommendations and stamp of approval were based on a review of the relatively scant professional literature and a study of 61 patients who had received psychosurgery over the past 10 years.

More than half of the 61 patients were said to have "improved significantly" from various mental disorders, though some were worse and others were unchanged. At least 34 of the patients, however, were studied within four to 18 months after their surgery, so that long-term results were not available for more than half the subjects examined.

Dr. John Sealy, a professor of psychiatry at the Charles R. Drew medical school in Los Angeles, says that such a study is an unscientific basis for approving the use of psychosurgery. "We don't know that much about the brain to make that kind of entry [surgery] safe, and we

don't know that much about any particular person," says Sealy.

"It's morally abhorrent," he adds, "to take that kind of risk without having done the underlying scientific work on animals first, and that's a good decade or more away."

Dr. Lee Coleman, a Berkeley psychiatrist and outspoken critic of psychosurgery, says the commission guidelines "label the practice as essentially a therapeutic procedure and declare that review boards would be sufficient to prevent abuse of individuals."

"There is absolutely no reasons," he says, "to believe that it is therapeutic. It is experimental and in fact it's one of the sloppiest forms of experimentation going on at this time."

►Done on the powerless.

Commission chairman Dr. Kenneth Ryan of Boston Hospital for Women defends the guidelines. "We have two kinds of protection—to protect people from inappropriate use and to protect people from not having access to a medical remedy which may be important to them.... You can't stop the procedure in general without interfering with the rights of some and you can't allow the procedure to go on unregulated."

Dr. Sealy, on the other hand, says that in addition to the experimental nature of psychosurgery, the practice is "politically reprehensible" because "in most cases the victims will be already powerless people."

He and others in the psychiatric community point to proposals in the early '70s to study the neurological causes of violence among ghetto rioters and criminals. Psychosurgeons in Boston, Los Angeles and elsewhere have also proposed setting up institutions to develop behavior modification therapies, including psychosurgery, for the treatment of violence-prone offenders.

Dr. Coleman also points out that any new wave of psychosurgery "is inevitably going to be done on the most powerless people, such as institutionalized mental patients or prisoners, and children and women."

While the guidelines would require the informed consent of the patient (or a guardian or parent) in such cases, critics object that guardians or parents don't always act in the patient's best interest. Dr. Ernest Bates, a San Francisco neurosurgeon who testified before the commission, points out that parents "are frequently acting in their own best interests. They may have a child who's upsetting them or disturbing them and they go to a doctor who says, 'We can make your child more manageable at home.'"

"Now that may not be the best thing for the child and I'm sure it's not the best thing when it goes on to result in psychosurgery," says Bates.

►Majority now middle-aged women.

Dr. Peter Breggin, a Washington, D.C., psychiatrist who has led the fight against psychosurgery, says that while the treatment is apparently not being used much on children any more, "the most oppressive and frequent treatments are given to middle-aged women" because of the special problems faced by American women in their 40s and 50s.

Breggin claims women, suffering anxiety and depression at the loss of family, youth and career opportunities, constitute the majority of psychosurgery patients in America.

He says that while the operation may sometimes relieve the symptoms of anxiety or depression, they also leave the patient with permanent brain damage and loss of intellect, memory and motivation.

"There are only two things you can do with a human brain," he adds. "You can either leave it alone or you can harm it."

Breggin, who campaigned hard for the creation of the commission in 1974, calls the guidelines "a giant step backwards" and a "white-wash of psychosurgery in response to the criticism that has been made of psychiatry."

Critics predict the controversy will now move into the courts via increased malpractice suits against psychosurgeons, and into the Congress, where Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) will introduce a measure in April seeking to ban psychosurgery at all federally funded institutions.

Lani Silver teaches women's studies at San Francisco State University, is co-director of an educational program called Women's Speakers Network. Elyse Eisenberg is a freelance reporter. They are currently working on a year-long investigation of mental health issues.

Many forms of psychosurgery in use today

The approximately 200 active psychosurgeons working in America today—those doing brain surgery to alter behavior as opposed to removing painful tumors, for instance—claim that the techniques have become highly refined since the early days of lobotomies. Procedures now go by such names as cingulotomy, orbital undercutting, multi-target limbic lesions and pre-frontal ultrasonic lesions, among others.

Whatever the name, the results are much the same: all the procedures cut or otherwise destroy selective brain fibers that are believed to be connected to centers of anxiety, depression, hostility or other mental disorders.

The earliest method involved drilling a hole in the skull usually just over the eyebrow, and inserting a sharp instrument into the brain to cut the tissue.

Another method that has gained favor is known as ultra sound surgery, developed by Dr. Peter Lindstrom of San Francisco. This process does not involve cutting, but relies on high-pitched sound waves to destroy selective brain tissue. California law governing psychosurgery does not apply to ultra sound surgery.

Other techniques developed by Dr. Frank Ervin and others in Boston, often called the "capital of psychosurgery," involve implanting dozens of tiny electrodes in brain tissue after exposing and drilling through the skull. Electricity can then be used to burn the target tissue. Lasers have been used in the same way.

The basic theory underlying psychosurgery is descended from the early work of Egas Moniz, a Spanish surgeon who won the Nobel Prize 28 years ago for his discovery of the therapeutic value of prefrontal leucotomy in certain psychoses. He hypothesized that certain abnormal connections between brain cells stabilize in psychotic people, but remain unstable and thus unimportant in mentally healthy people.

But Dr. Elliot Valenstein, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan who reviewed the medical literature on psychosurgery for the national commission, says no one really knows what happens in lobotomies.

"Authors [of medical literature] are quite explicit about not knowing 'how' or 'why' psychosurgery works and they openly state that physiological explanations at this time are pure conjecture, based on indirect, heterogeneous and often tortured sets of arguments," he says.